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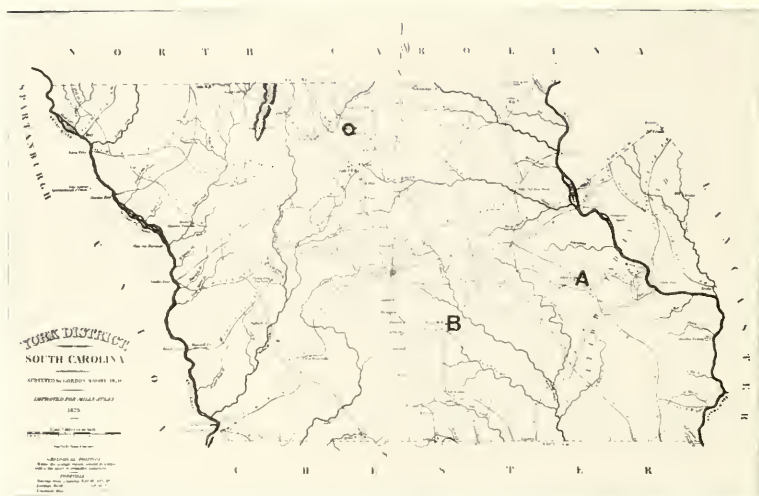


Figure 1. Map of York District, South Carolina, from Robert Mills, Atlas of the State of South-Carolina, 1825. MESDA Research File (MRF) S-15,133. Ebenezer Presbyterian Church (A) and Bethesda Presbyterian Church (B) are shown on this map.

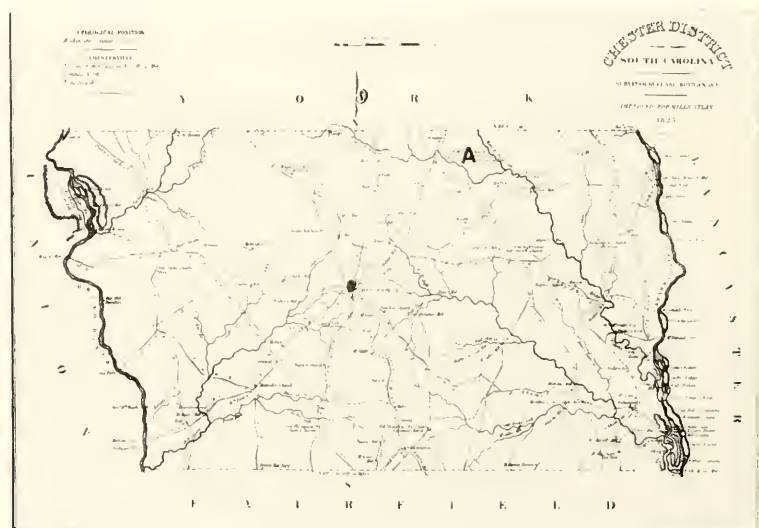


Figure 2. Map of Chester District, South Carolina, from Robert Mills, Atlas of the State of South-Carolina, 1825. MRF S-13,134. Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church (A) is shown on this map.

## *The Changing York County, South Carolina, Tombstone Business, 1750-1850.*

WADE B. FAIREY

In the mid-eighteenth century a number of inhabitants from Scottish (Scots-Irish), Welsh, English, German, and Huguenot ethnic groups began populating the York County, South Carolina, area (fig. 1). Although the period marked the beginning of the American cultural melting pot, religious and social differences still existed between these groups. Each maintained close ties to old work traditions. For example, the Scots-Irish, the predominant group, began building churches to perpetuate their beliefs shortly after their arrival in the piedmont region, and the first established churches in the area were therefore Presbyterian. Waxhaw Presbyterian Church and Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church in adjacent Lancaster and Chester counties (fig. 2), respectively, were organized in the early 1750s, and Bethel Presbyterian Church in York County was formally established in 1764.

In conjunction with the erection of community churches was the walling off of cemeteries, and tombstones began dotting the Presbyterian cemeteries in the 1750s. These tombstones manifested traditional designs, for tombstone art probably was one of the Scots-Irish settlers' strongest cultural links to their homelands. For most of the area's inhabitants, however, erecting a tombstone in that period was far removed from the rigors of everyday life. Most still lived in dirt floor cabins, made their own cloth, and went unwashed. The small number of extant eighteenth-century York County tombstones is a reflection on the majority of the population's inability to purchase them. Besides the cost of carving, there was a hauling fee and other funeral costs. Therefore, for those few

people who could erect a tombstone, it became a statement of economic and social superiority, and the few examples of York County tombstones that remain from that period read like a guide to the area's social circles. They also demonstrate a clear pattern of association with organized religion.



Figure 3. James White tombstone, attributed to Hugh Kelsey, Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church, Chester County, 9 May 1774. HOA 22", WOA 17 1/4".

Tombstones became more important religious and social symbols in York County in the late eighteenth century, marking burial sites, giving solace to loved ones, and heralding the spiritual characters of the deceased. Their erection also was a lasting tribute to the social and religious standings of those memorialized. James White's 1774 tombstone (fig. 3) at Fishing Creek Church marked the beginning of an increased demand for tombstones that served the above functions.

The proliferation of tombstones in York County during the late eighteenth century can be attributed to a higher death rate. This was a direct result of an influx of settlers between 1763 and 1780. To fulfill the demand, three local sources developed in the region. Hugh Kelsey, Samuel Watson, and the Bigham family began dominating the tombstone business in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and they executed most of the local tombstones prior to 1820. Each of these carvers manifested distinguishing carving features, and different styles and images defined their separate contributions. Both Kelsey and Watson were associated with their own communities and did little commercial carving. Their work was closely tied to their immediate families and churches. However, the Bigham family carvers of adjacent Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, established themselves as premier commercial carvers. Hundreds of their fine stones may be found throughout the United States.

The first of the local carvers to make a significant contribution to tombstone art and development in the region was Hugh Kelsey (1754-1817). The son of Robert Kelsey, Sr. (1715-1800), a Scots-Irish immigrant, Hugh settled with his family in Chester County. It is unclear how he learned his trade, but it is possible that he was influenced by members of his own artisan family. Samuel Kelsey, a Chester County blacksmith and Hugh's kinsman, also lived near Fishing Creek Church. During the southern campaign of the American Revolution, Samuel reported that in July 1780 he "was robbed of everything and the swords he had been manufacturing were carried off" by the British.<sup>1</sup>

Hugh Kelsey's work as a tombstone carver began before the American Revolution and continued until his death in 1817, although during the war he also supplied the local militia with holsters, sword scabbards, waist belts, and capes.<sup>2</sup> Most of his tombstones can be found at Fishing Creek Church. His earliest attributable piece probably was the circa 1774 James White tombstone with its wonderful images of "noble man," vines, and rosettes. Kelsey's tombstones are characterized by the thick, squat





*Figure 4. Mary Brown tombstone, attributed to Hugh Kelsey, Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church, Chester County, 1779. HOA 25 1/2", WOA 18 1/4".*

form demonstrated by Mary Brown's stone (fig. 4) of 1779. Kelsey represented her life with large rosettes, encircling vines, and, a bird, resembling a hummingbird, within a small branch atop the stone. Only his earliest stones feature these designs; by the nineteenth century his carvings had become far less detailed. In 1808, the year he executed Thomas Gill's tombstone (fig. 5) no expression of his eighteenth-century imagery remained. The stone, which cost the Gill estate \$6, is devoid of decoration.<sup>3</sup>



*Figure 5. Thomas Gill tombstone, attributed to Hugh Kelsey, Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church, Chester County, 29 September 1808. HOA 15 3/4", WOA 16".*

Kelsey died in 1817. His estate inventory listed "one lot of stone cutting tools" valued at \$2.01 and \$25 worth of assorted tombstones in various stages of completion.<sup>4</sup> It would have been helpful if this record had given the source of his stone and a reference to his knowledge of eighteenth-century designs. However, it does indicate that Kelsey was working with rough stones and not pre-cut forms. His headstones contribute toward the clarification of popular images acceptable to the local population and are important links to their Scottish heritage.



Figure 6. Hannab Watson headstone, by Samuel Watson, Beersheba Presbyterian Church, York County, 13 August 1790. HOA 30 1/2"; WOA 15 3/4".

Bridging the gap between Hugh Kelsey's perpetuation of Scottish traditions and the commercialization of early nineteenth-century carvers were the carvings of Samuel Watson of York County. Unfortunately, very little information on Watson's life is available. He cannot be considered a professional stone carver, for the few extant examples of his work are not polished and exhibit only a small degree of influence from outside the York County area. The tombstones attributed to Watson differ significantly from Kelsey's; they are characterized by less bulk and much stronger vertical lines. Many have high, sharp shoulders with round bead molding completing their edges. A 1790 tombstone (fig. 6) found at Beersheba





*Figure 7. Hannah Watson footstone, signed by Samuel Watson. HOA 18", WOA 9 1/4".*

Presbyterian Church, signed at the foot by Watson (fig. 7) and carved for his mother Hannah, features a primitive portrait surrounded by stars.

Watson's designs and workmanship appear to have been influenced by factors in his own community, particularly the work of the Bigham family. This is demonstrated by his use of slate as a carving medium and the application of images similar to those of Bigham headstones. The American eagle on Amarandahe Fullton's stone (fig. 8) for example, seems to be a poor copy of the Bigham's



*Figure 8. Amarandabe Fullton tombstone, attributed to Samuel Watson, Ebenezer Presbyterian Church, Rock Hill, [date buried], HOA 25", WOA 22 1/2". That Watson was influenced by the Bigham family of carvers is evident in the similarity between this stone and that of Elisabeth Adams (fig. 10).*

popular motif. Its detail is less clean, the proportions less appealing, and its appearance is more like that of a chicken than an eagle.

The Bigham family carvers of Steele Creek, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, were influential in shaping the York County tombstone traditions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Evidence establishing that at least six different carvers were cutting gravestones in the Bigham workshop has been found in various wills and legal documents. The oldest was Samuel Bigham, Sr.,

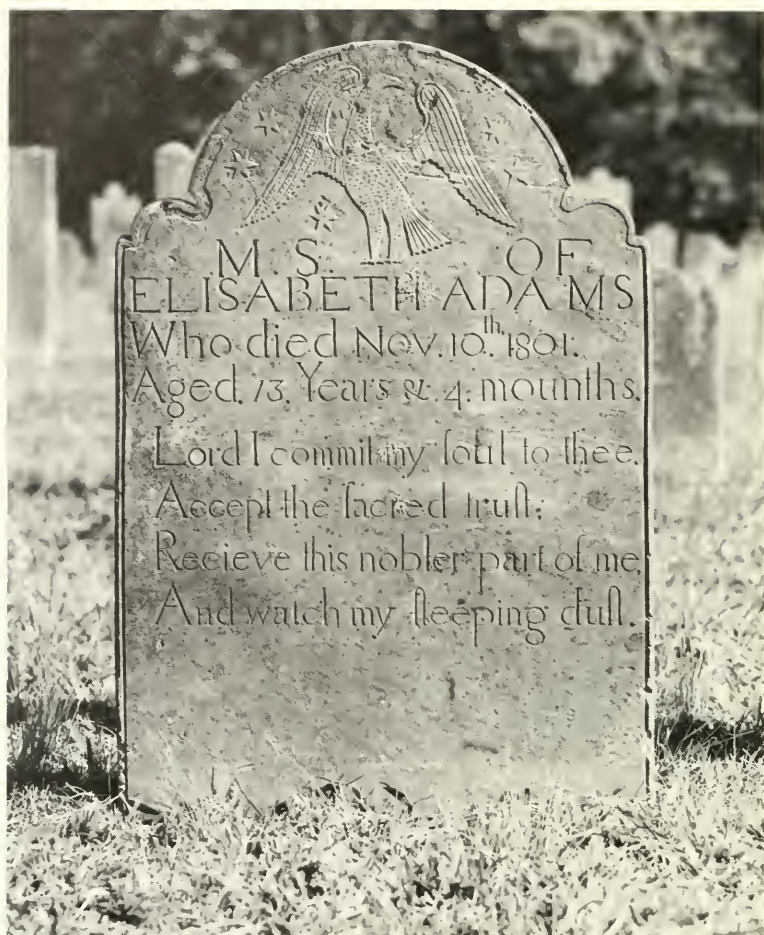


*Figure 9. Alexander Love tombstone, attributed to the Bigham family, Bethesda Presbyterian Church, York County, March 1784. HOA 24", WOA 19 3/4". Alexander Love was an early political leader in York County. He was elected to the Second Provincial Congress in 1775.*

who arrived with his wife in Mecklenburg County during the 1760s. Samuel Bigham, Jr., probably was the shop's most skilled artisan; he was proud enough of his abilities to punctuate his signature on legal documents with the initials s. c. for stone cutter.<sup>5</sup>

Examples of the Bighams' work can be found throughout most of York County's nineteenth-century burial sites. It is of high quality, exhibiting a wide variety of designs and styles. Sharp edging (fig. 9), clear images, and the use of a number of popular motifs





*Figure 10. Elisabeth Adams tombstone, attributed to the Bigham family, Bethel Presbyterian Church, Chester County, 10 November 1801. HOA 25", WOA 16 1/2".*

reflect a sophistication lacking in the work of Kelsey and Watson and place the Bighams in the category of professional carvers. Their carvings also capture in stone a point in America's past when ethnic origins were being supplanted by an emerging sense of national identity. The gravemarkers they created from 1750 to 1780 reflect the Bighams' northern Irish roots; those carved from the American Revolution until 1815 incorporated distinctly American symbols.<sup>6</sup>



*Figure 11. Hugh Berry tombstone, attributed to the Bigham family, Bethel Presbyterian Church, Chester County, 30 August 1802. HOA 24", WOA 19 3/4".*

Images used by the Bighams include coats of arms, animals, winged death heads, doves of peace, floral designs, all-seeing eyes, and American eagles (fig. 10). Early nineteenth-century Bigham carvings also include various combinations of geometric fan motifs and inlay lines (fig. 11). Other common Bigham traits are back carving, chamfered corners, and beaded edging.

Although leading families in Chester, Lancaster, and York counties purchased large quantities of tombstones from the Bighams well into the nineteenth century, their significant status as the area's leading carvers eventually foundered in the 1820s. Several factors were responsible for this erosion of their hold on the local tombstone business. Cultural differences became less distinct in the second quarter of the nineteenth century as members of various ethnic groups merged, creating a new social order and resulting in an unconscious simplification of norms that united much of the area's society. The economic changes that a new agrarian system — cotton production — created brought different patterns of social and religious behavior as a new class of farmers, merchants, and artisans emerged in the South Carolina Backcountry. These fledgling members of the middle class then became interested in the social order and community responsibility that came with church membership. According to Dr. George C. Rogers, Jr., the ranks of the region's churchgoers swelled in the early nineteenth century: "In 1799 only eight percent of white adults in the Upcountry were church members; by 1810 twenty-percent were church members."<sup>7</sup> The travels of this new class also exposed them to urban tombstone styles and funeral customs, and this awareness of style coupled with the growth of church membership resulted in an increased demand for headstones. A handsome tombstone became a popular symbol of dignity and importance.

The Bigham family apparently was either unaware of or unprepared for these changes, and as their business declined, brothers-in-law John Caveny (1778-1853) and James Crawford (1775-1842) of York County captured a majority of the tombstone business in the early nineteenth century. These men ushered in a new era of tombstone designs required by affluent planters and merchants. Their carvings manifested only a few ties to the eighteenth-century carvings of Kelsey, Watson, or the Bighams. Caveny's two earliest headstones, for example, retain a few traditional images which he combined with the nineteenth-century urban form. The earliest of his extant stones (fig. 12) found at Bethel Presbyterian Church and carved for James Jackson in 1807, features a winged death head that is clearly out of place on the nineteenth-century form. John McCall's stone (fig. 13) also executed in 1807 and signed by Caveny, is more elaborate, mixing Masonic symbols with a skull and crossbones and a traditional hour glass. These signed stones established Caveny as an engraver and served as advertisements for his work.





Figure 12. James Jackson tombstone, signed by John Caveny, Bethel Presbyterian, Chester County, 1807. HOA 46", WOA 21 1/2".

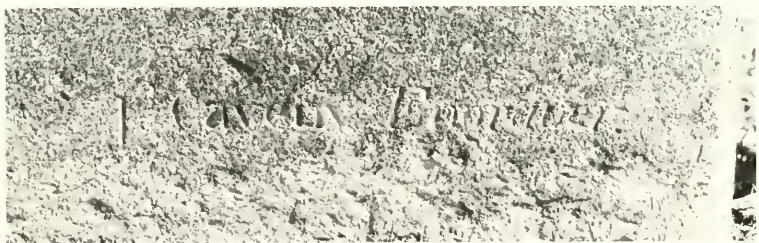


Figure 12a. Detail of Jackson tombstone showing Caveny's mark. Caveny identified himself as an engraver for advertising purposes.



Figure 13. John McCall tombstone, signed by John Caveny, Bethesda Presbyterian Church, York County, 10 July 1807. HOA 50 3/4", WOA 18 1/4".



In general, however, early nineteenth-century carvers made a clean break from eighteenth-century conventions. Avon Neal summed up the changes in the trade as follows: "Imaginative grave-stone carving flourished . . . to the early 1800s; after that, the urn and the willow became standard motifs, and the art declined rapidly."<sup>8</sup> Most of Caveny's and all of Crawford's stones demonstrate their knowledge of urban styles and changing norms. Such conformity was also a reflection of the economic pressures wrought by competition from urban, particularly Charleston, carving firms. York County's earliest documented commercial tombstone, ordered for Mary Feemster in 1776, was an oddity in its time, but by the second decade of the nineteenth century, more local residents were turning to the use of commercial stones. This new market for urban carving firms rapidly developed in York County and was responsible for the introduction of new styles, images, and business relationships. In 1818 T. W. Walker, a leading Charleston tombstone carver, shipped the William Pettus family of York County a 357-pound tombstone. The stone cost the Pettus estate \$41.65 plus an \$8.03 hauling charge.<sup>9</sup> A headstone of local sandstone cut by Crawford the same year for local militia leader Colonel Frederick Hambright only cost \$22, but apparently the local carvers' lower prices had little effect on the demand for commercial stones in York County. The Charleston firms owned by James Hall, T. W. Walker, and James Rowe all supplied stones to the area after 1810.<sup>10</sup> Twenty years later, Columbia stone cutters W. T. White, Boyne and Sproul, R. G. Brown, and Alex Brown also were shipping stones to York County.

A few York County carving families managed to contend with the city firms, mostly by following those trends set by their urban competitors, stifling their own traditions and creativity, and serving middle class clients who could not afford the stylish monuments imported by the wealthy upper class. A community of professional stone cutters grew up around the abundant granite sites near Kings Mountain in the northern section of York County during the nineteenth century. The Caveny, Crawford, Houser, Morrow, and Mullinax families all worked these quarries for financial gain, producing the majority of tombstones found in the region until the mid-nineteenth century. These local quarries also were important sources of material for carvers well into the nineteenth century. Henry Houser (1756-1822) and his wife Jane built a stone house about 1803 from sandstone quarried on their own property.<sup>11</sup> This vein also ran through John Caveny's property and the Crawfords'.

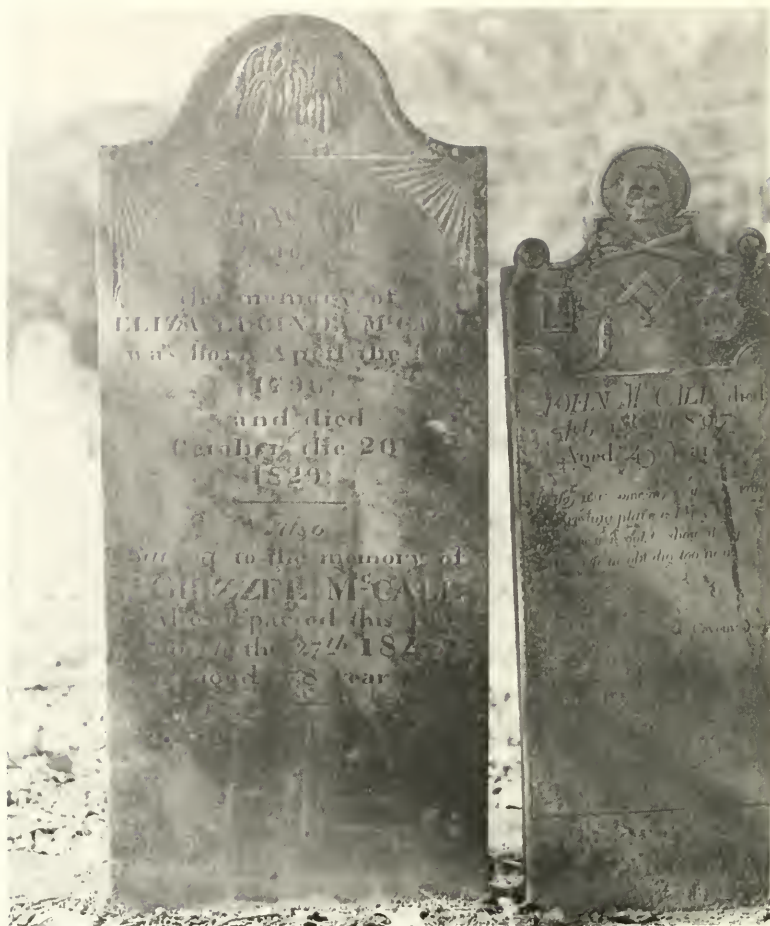


Figure 14. Eliza Lucinda McCall tombstone, signed by John Caveny, Bethesda Presbyterian Church, York County, 20 October 1829. HOA 58", WOA 24 1/4". This stone is an example of the changes in style wrought by urban competition. The masonic symbols and skull and crossbones of earlier traditions found on John McCall's stone (fig. 13), part of which is illustrated here, were replaced by the weeping willow 22 years later.

In 1842 James Crawford willed his sons "one half of my stone quarry tract of land lying on part of Kings Mountain near the memorial hill called the Battleground and the crowbar between him and his brother William for use of the quarry."<sup>12</sup>

From this community John Caveny emerged as the leading tombstone carver in York County in the 1820s, and his ability to accept new styles (fig. 14) and adapt to changing situations kept him in

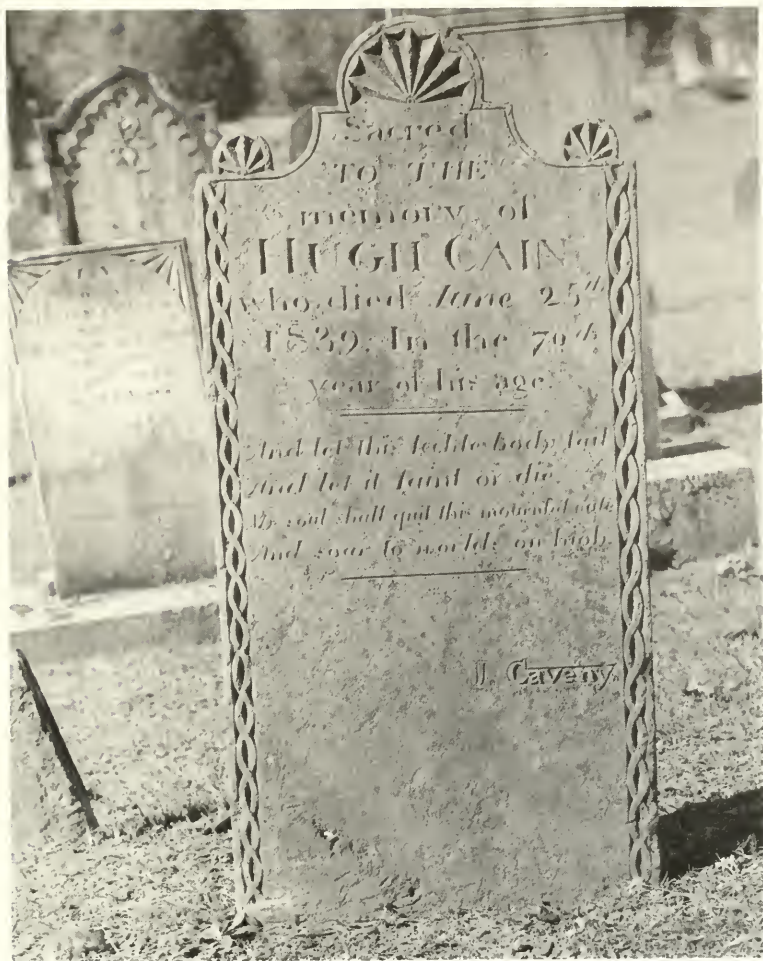


Figure 15. Hugh Cain tombstone, signed by John Caveny, Beersbeba Presbyterian Church, York County, 25 June 1839. HOA 45 1/2", WOA 21 1/2".

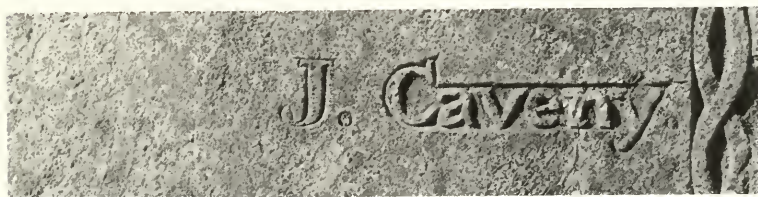


Figure 15a. Detail of Figure 15. Caveny's mark on Hugh Cain's stone resembles a silversmith's stamp.



business until his death in 1853. In the 1830s he and his son Robert C. Caveny (1808-90) introduced two unusual tombstone styles demonstrated by stones carved for Hugh Cain in 1839 (fig. 15) and Elias Carroll in 1843. The designs of these stones were drawn from earlier models, and if they had been carved twenty years earlier might have been more popular. For the most part, however, Caveny's work after 1820 became far less imaginative (figs. 16, 17, 18, 19). He adopted the high shoulder and tombstone profile used by his urban competitors, but continued carving them from locally quarried stone.

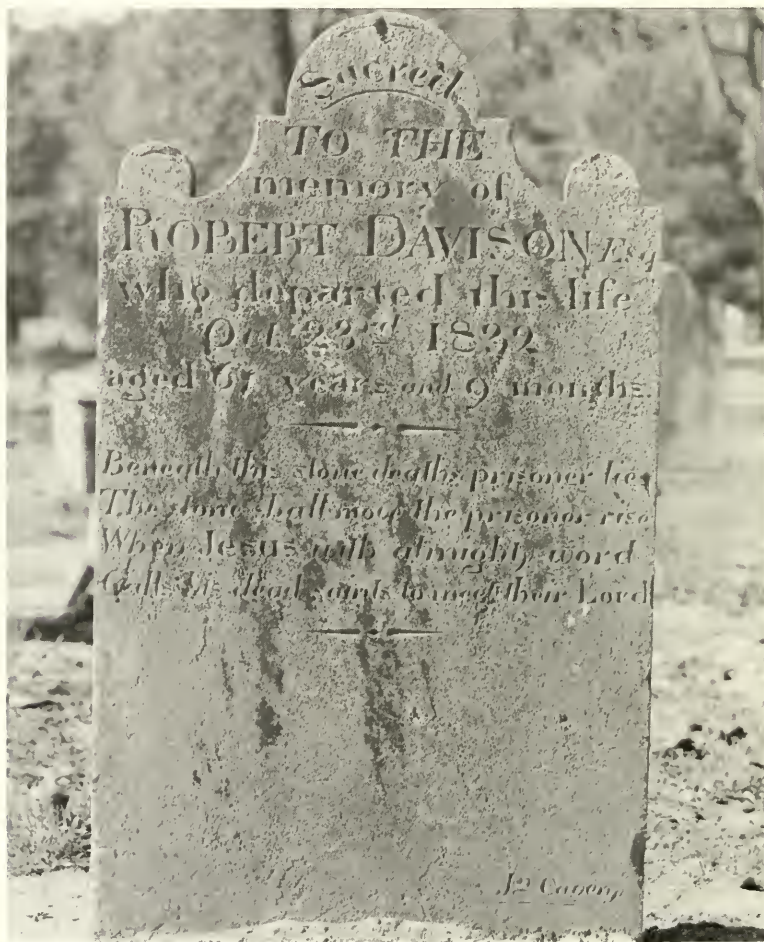


Figure 16. Robert Davison tombstone, signed by John Caveny, Bethesda Presbyterian Church, York County, 23 Oct. 1832. HOA 36 1/2", WOA 21 1/2".



*Figure 17. Jonathan Sutton tombstone, by John Caveny, Beersheba Presbyterian Church, York County. 1838? HOA 36 1/2", WOA 22 3/4". According to an estate record, Caveny was paid for carving this stone.*



Figure 18. Infant son of John and Mary Brown tombstone, signed by John Caveny, Beersheba Presbyterian Church, York County, 21 November 1836. HOA 35", WOA 9 1/2".



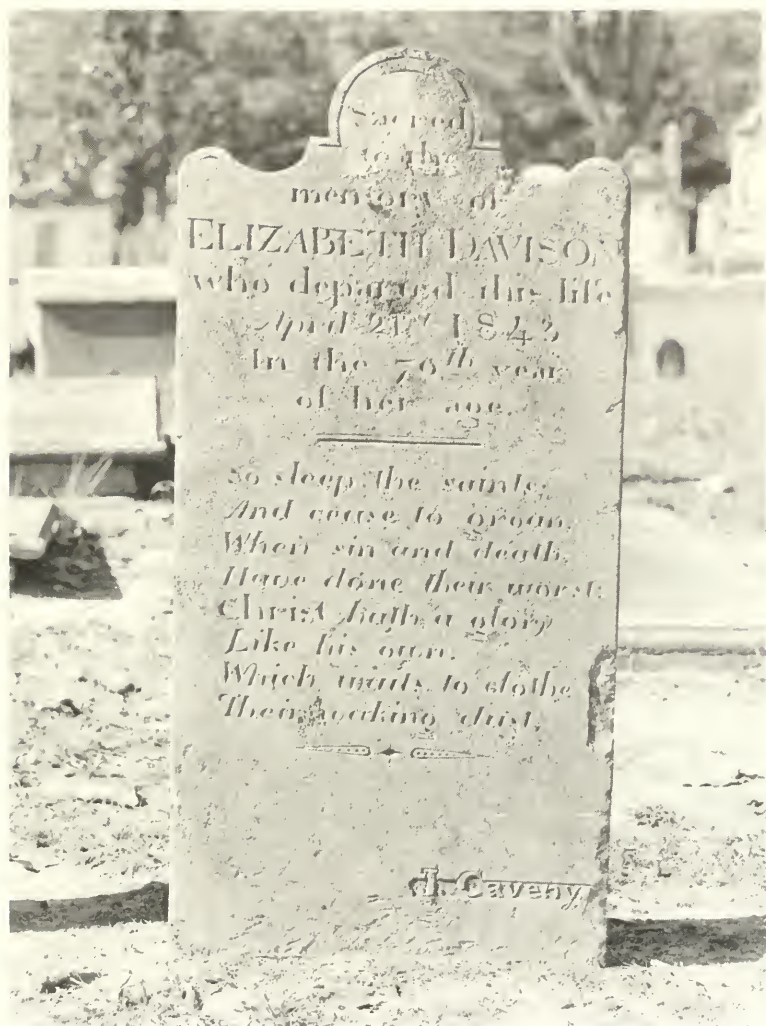


Figure 19. Elizabeth Davison tombstone, signed by John Caveny, Bethesda Presbyterian Church, York County, 21 April 1843. HOA 42 1/2", WOA 20 1/4".

James Crawford also managed to attract a large business by conforming his work to that of his competitors. Hambright's stone, for example, with its strong vertical silhouette, high shoulders, and half-round pediment, is Crawford's version of a popular nineteenth-century urban form. His sons Robert M. Crawford (1804-80) and William N. Crawford (1808-94) entered the business in the early 1830s. The work of both (figs. 20, 21, 22, 23) exhibited a high degree of imagination and good workmanship and brought about a renewed, albeit fleeting, emphasis on creativity. Most of their carvings were adaptations of such prevalent mid-nineteenth century images as the weeping willow.

It was at this point, about 1840, that the commercial monument business cornered the market. To stay in business many of the local carvers restricted their prices and coordinated their work with larger commercial firms by hiring themselves out as engravers. One of the earliest examples of such a joint venture was John Currence's 1827 tombstone; John Caveny engraved the imported stone.<sup>13</sup> In 1832 Caveny was paid \$10 for engraving a stone purchased in Columbia.<sup>14</sup> Robert C. Caveny also was an engraver. In 1830 he was hired to engrave a commercial stone and earned \$6.42 for his efforts. The same estate paid the monument company \$18 for the stone and a hauling fee of \$2.70.<sup>15</sup> The growing popularity of marble tombstones also contributed to the demand for engravers rather than full carvers. By 1845 the use of marble was so widely accepted that it had virtually supplanted other local tombstone materials such as granite and sandstone. Tombstone engravers themselves were even using marble for their own headstones. F. H. Morrow's marble headstone, engraved by John Caveny, had the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of/Frederick H. Morrow/ an ingenious mechanic/ in Monument work/ Who departed this life/ Feb. 24th 1845/ In the 39th year of his age."

One new carver did manage to confront the overwhelming demand for commercial marble stones and introduce his carving techniques in the 1840s. Martin Mullinax, who grew up in rural York County, began carving stones from local material using his own interpretations of weeping willow and eternal flame motifs. Tombstones attributable to him can be located in outlying areas of York County; however, few examples of his work have been found in more populated sections. Mullinax's popularity was short-lived. By 1858 he had abandoned his carving career for the innkeeping business and ownership of the Mullinax House in York.<sup>16</sup>



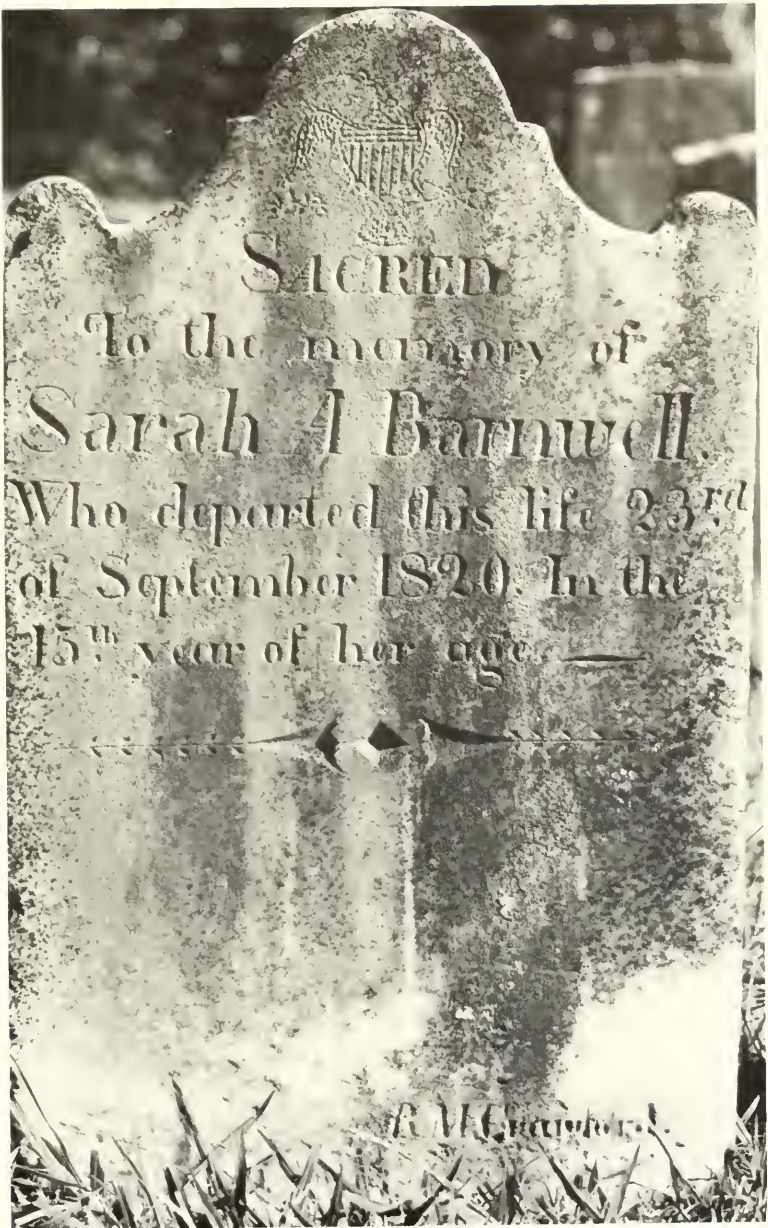


Figure 20. Sarah A. Barnwell tombstone, by Robert M. Crawford, Bethel Presbyterian, Clover, 23 September 1820. HOA 26 1/2", WOA 15 3/8".



Figure 21. James Quinn tombstone, by Robert M. Crawford, Bethany Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church, York County, 24 June 1846. HOA 35 1/4", WOA 16".

By 1850 the standardization of cut marble stones had engulfed the rural markets. These mid-nineteenth century stones, like their eighteenth-century counterparts, emulated architecture, but they were far less interesting. Most resembled public monuments on private property, reflecting the impact of the Greek Revival and Gothic styles. Obelisk tombstones also came into vogue. These factors further isolated local carvers, as did the demand for raised tombstone tablets rather than traditional upright stones. These tablets



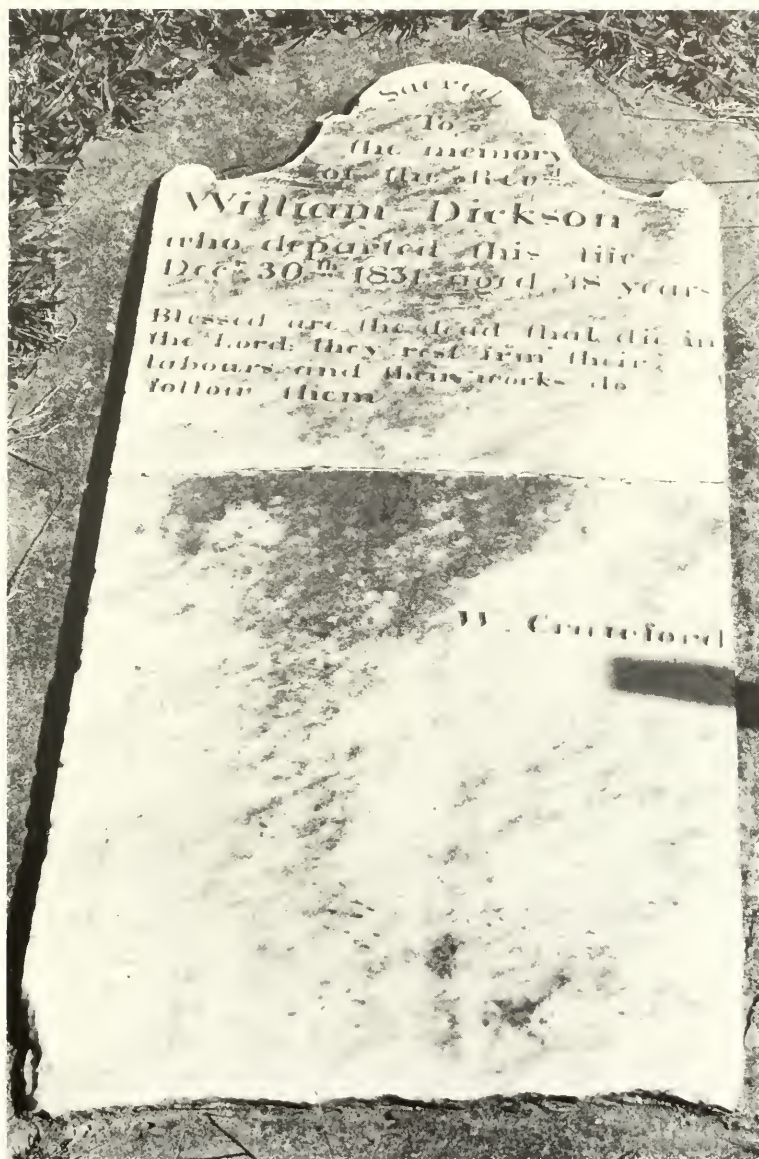


Figure 22. William Dickson tombstone, by William N. Crawford, Bethany Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church, York County, 30 Dec. 1831. HOA 49", WOA 22 1/4".

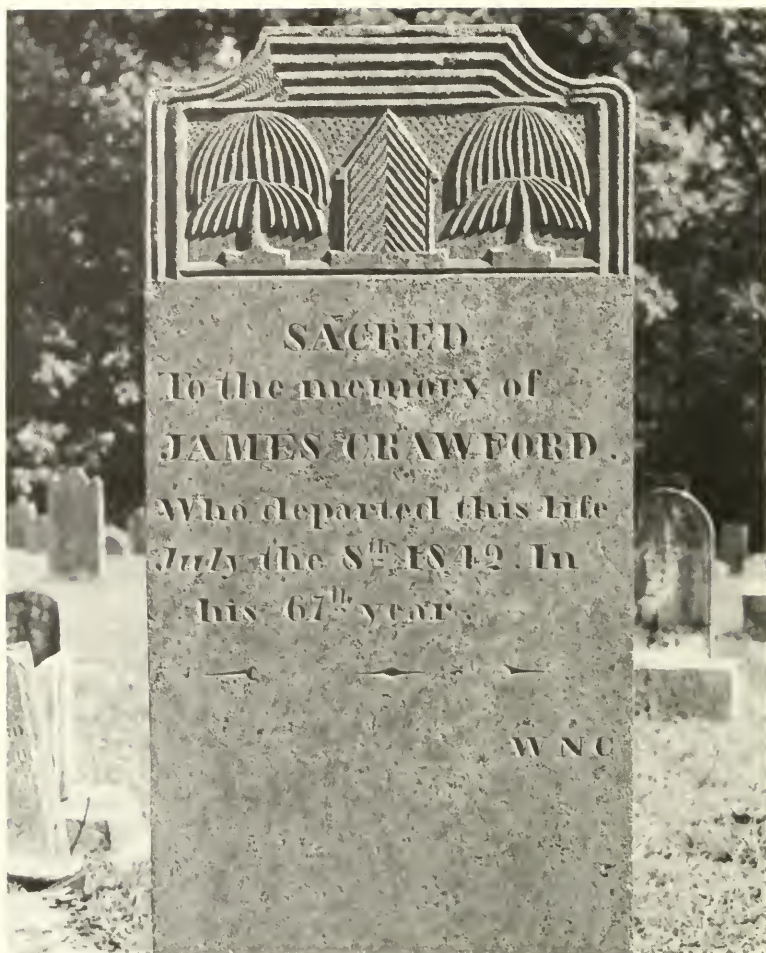


Figure 23. Detail of James Crawford tombstone, by William N. Crawford, Bethany Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church, York County, 8 July 1842. HOA 52 1/2", WOA 19 3/4".

began appearing before 1850; however, William L. McConnell's 1850 example was the first documented in York County estate records. It cost \$47 and included the base and pillars provided by Richard Hare of Yorkville, a local brick contractor who had entered the monument business in 1846.<sup>17</sup> York County artisans did much of the engraving on these tablets, but with little of the area's earlier carvers' imagination or creativity, which had virtually vanished from the tombstone business by 1850.



*Figure 24. Nathaniel P. Kennedy tombstone, signed by Richard Hare, Beersbeba Presbyterian Church, York County, 14 May 1853. HOA 51", WOA 23 1/2".*



Interestingly enough, more documented information about the York County tombstone business and other funeral trappings is available from written records in the two decades before 1850 than any other earlier period. In the years preceding the 1820s, probate papers rarely listed funeral costs as parts of estates settlements; in the 1840s records of such expenses were common. William Quinn's 1833 inventory was one of the first to have a separate entry for funeral expenses, stating that his coffin trimmings cost \$5.<sup>18</sup> In 1836 an estate record included the following notation: "\$25.00 was retained in hand for a tombstone and setting it up."<sup>19</sup> Such costs increased dramatically after 1840. In 1839 "burial cloths" for N. M. Folks's funeral were valued at \$6.31 1/4.<sup>20</sup> In 1841 "coffin and trimmings" for Amos E. Moss cost \$15, and an additional \$9.41 was spent on his burial clothing. By 1845 funeral trimmings were being furnished to at least one estate for \$20, and other expenses listed were: "digging the grave" at 62 cents, preaching the funeral at \$5, and enclosing the grave for \$5.12 1/2.<sup>21</sup>

Apparently, by the mid-nineteenth century, no expense was spared for a dignified and respectable funeral, and that included an impressive headstone decorated with urns, willows (fig. 24), and eternal flames. Local carvers either were reduced to mere engravers, like the Cavenys and the Crawfords with little, if any, input into the creation of these commercial monument, or they had left the business altogether like Mullinax. A representative entry from an 1842 York County probate record sums up the small role left to local carvers in the tombstone business at that time: Robert Caveny was paid \$5.70 for "engraving the headstone," Boyne and McKenzie charged \$11 for supplying the headstone, and Thomas H. Smith was paid \$10 for the coffin.<sup>22</sup>

*Wade Fairey is the Director of Historic Brattonsville in McCormells, South Carolina.*

## FOOTNOTES

1. Elizabeth F. Ellet, *Women in the American Revolution*, 4th ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1975-6), 3:284.
2. Bobby S. Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1983), 525.
3. Probate Judge Records, File 21, Pk. 318, 1812, Chester County, South Carolina.
4. Ibid., File 33, Pk. 500, 1817.
5. Edward W. Clark, "The Bigham Carvers of the Carolina Piedmont: Stone Images of an Emerging Sense of American Identity," in R. E. Meyers, ed., *Cemetery and Grave Markers* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1988), 37.
6. Ibid., 32.
7. George C. Rogers, "Who is a South Carolinian?" *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 89, no. 1 (Jan. 1988): 7. Rogers cites Lacy Ford as the source of these statistics.
8. Avon Neal, "Gravestone Rubbing," *Americana Magazine* (Sept. 1974): 16.
9. Probate Records, File 35/1464, 1818, 336, York County, S. C.
10. Walker's tombstones were particularly popular in York County. Apparently he and his work were respected in Charleston, as well. When James Hall died in 1823, Walker was appointed executor of his estate and identified as a stone cutter. Wills, No. 36, 1818-26, 850, Charleston County.
11. Edwin Vearss and M. Adderstein, *Historic Structure Report: Houser House. Historical and Archaeological Data* (National Parks Service, 1974).
12. Probate Judge Records/ Wills, James Crawford, 1842, York County.
13. Probate Records, File 13/ 550, 1827, 167, York County.
14. Ibid, File 27/ 119, 1832, 1094.
15. Ibid., File 45/ 1119, 1830, 632.
16. *Yorkville Enquirer*, 21 Jan. 1858.
17. Probate Records, File 13/ 584, 1850, 53, York County.
18. Ibid., File 35/ 1527, 373.
19. Ibid., File 8/ 338, 1836.
20. Ibid., File 5/ 192, 1838, 305.
21. Ibid., File 3/ 118, 1845, 198.
22. Ibid., File 71/ 3503, 1942, 179.



*Figure 1. A Map of the Internal Improvements of Virginia, by C. Crozet, engraved by P. S. DuVal, Philadelphia, 1848. Dimensions not recorded. Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, photograph by Wesley Stewart. Schoolgirl embroideries from 59 Virginia counties and cities have been located. Except as noted, the objects illustrated in this article are in the collection of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and the dimensions are of unframed pieces with height/length given first. Photographs by Hans Lorenz.*



*"The First Effort of an Infant Hand":  
An Introduction to Virginia Schoolgirl  
Embroideries, 1742-1850*

KIMBERLY A. SMITH

Until recently, documented Virginia schoolgirl embroideries were rare, and, like other southern decorative arts, few were thought to exist. Over the years this apparent scarcity of surviving southern and Virginia needlework has been attributed to several different factors. The rural environment created by the plantation system, as opposed to the more urban centers in the North, was believed to discourage the establishment and maintenance of needlework schools and teachers. The supposed laziness and indolence of southern girls also were considered contributing factors to the lack of southern needlework. Sally Wister, a young Philadelphian, damaged the reputation of Virginia girls for two centuries when she wrote in her journal in 1778 that Captain Alexander Spotswood Dandridge, a Virginia visitor to her home, "observ'd my sampler, which was in full view. Wish'd I would teach the Virginians some of my needle wisdom; they were the laziest girls in the world."<sup>1</sup>

A hot, humid climate that was not conducive to working or saving needlework has often been blamed for the sparseness of southern examples. One period Williamsburg reference gives a good indication of the difficulties of stitching needlework in the warm, muggy weather. In August 1769 Anne Blair wrote her sister about her ten-year-old daughter, Betsey Braxton, who was staying with Anne for the summer. "She has finsh'd her work'd Tucker, but the weather is so warm, that with all the pain's I can take with clean hands, and so forth she cannot help dirtying it a little."<sup>2</sup>

Some pieces of needlework are thought to have been the casualties of war, stolen by northern soldiers as they plundered and looted their way through the South. One such example is a sampler begun in 1793 by Martha Carter Fitshugh of Chatham in Stafford County.<sup>3</sup>

Martha's sampler is a simple one recording family births, deaths, and marriages. She died at the age of seven before finishing it, leaving her work to be completed by another family member. Eventually the sampler passed into the possession of Martha's niece, Mrs. Robert E. Lee. It was stolen when Union troops captured Arlington House in 1861. In 1897 the sampler was recognized at the World's Fair "in a case containing relics exhibited by the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts." Douglas H. Thomas, then editor of the *Virginia Historical Magazine*, wrote: "This sampler was no Doubt 'obtained' during the war by some of the 'visitors' to Virginia, and if publication is made of the fact, it is possible the owner might be found."<sup>4</sup> In 1979 the Essex Institute transferred the sampler to Arlington House.<sup>5</sup>

Despite these earlier theories, it is clear from period documents that Virginia girls were working samplers and embroideries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Newspapers contain numerous advertisements by needlework teachers, stores advertised and sold the necessary materials, and surviving letters and journals describe the embroideries of girls and young women. More physical evidence of their work has also been found. In the past few years, over 125 schoolgirl embroideries have been documented and attributed to Virginia, and the research is still in its early stages.<sup>6</sup> Spanning the years from 1742 to the mid-nineteenth century, samplers and pictures have been located in fifty-nine Virginia counties and cities (fig. 1). They were created by girls from the age of six to young womanhood and demonstrate a variety of materials, stitches, designs, and levels of skill.<sup>7</sup>

Along with documentary sources such as diaries and letters, examples of plain and decorative sewing are rare surviving artifacts that provide insight into the lives of young Virginia girls and women during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Of all the needlework done by girls, samplers are particularly key in bringing us closer to understanding their world. Samplers provide significant information about the environment in which they were created. Details of a needleworker's life such as her name, age, and birth date (fig. 2) appear on many Virginia samplers. Some even tell where the needleworker lived and give information about her family. The

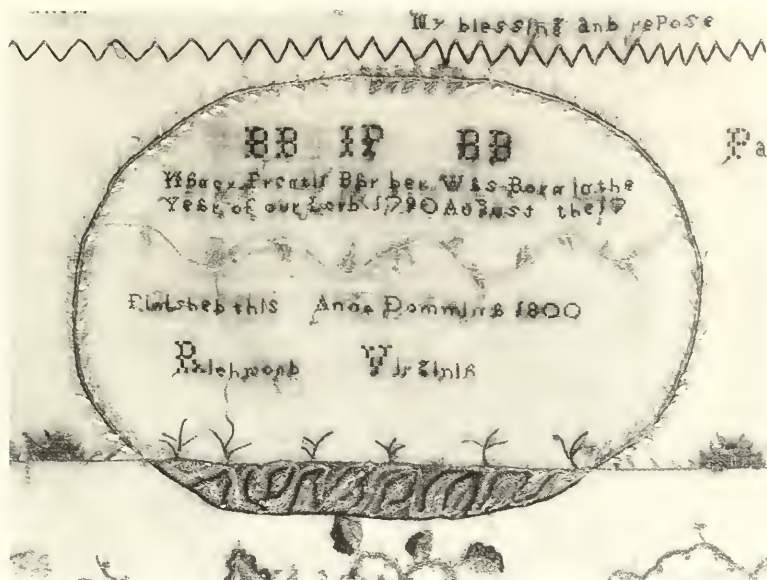


Figure 2. Detail of sampler (see fig. 6), by Nancy Prentis Barber, Richmond, 1800. Accession 1987-34. Nancy Barber was 10 years old when she completed this sampler on a fine linen ground of 56 X 64 threads per inch. Note the reversal of the a's, b's, t's, and n's.

materials used may have been the preference of the young needleworker or, more likely, her teacher, but they also indicate what supplies were available in local stores. The techniques and variety of stitches used illustrate some of the practical skills that were thought necessary in order for a young woman to be a successful housekeeper. The format and pictorial qualities give clues to what was conceived as aesthetically pleasing, while the religious and moral verses forcibly remind us of the expectations that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century parents had of their daughters.

The sampler was originally a cloth used to practice embroidery patterns, designs, and appropriate stitches for marking linens with alphabets and numerals. Valuable linens (fig. 3) and clothing such as shifts and shirts were marked with numbers and initials in order to keep sets together and to ensure that items sent out to be laundered or mended were returned to the proper owner. This practice continued into the nineteenth century and was the forerunner of the modern-day practice of monogramming.



*Figure 3. Woolen blankets, damask linen napkins and pillowcases, England and America, eighteenth century. All are marked with their owners' initials and identifying numbers.*

The oldest surviving dated English sampler was made in 1598 by Jane Bostocke.<sup>8</sup> Pictorial and written evidence suggests, however, that samplers or similar embroideries were being done at least a century earlier.<sup>9</sup> These early samplers (fig. 4) were typically long and narrow, were worked in bands of geometrical patterns, flowers and vines, alphabets, and verses, and were intended to be used as records of different stitches and embroidery patterns. As a new stitch was learned, it was added onto the sampler, which might have been rolled and tucked in a basket for easy storage; it could be unrolled later and used as a reference when mending or sewing. It is evident from the beauty of some of these early pieces that they were also meant to be demonstrations of a young girl's proficiency in the needle arts.



The earliest known American sampler was worked some time before 1656 by Loara Standish, daughter of Captain Myles Standish who came to Plymouth on the *Mayflower* in 1620.<sup>10</sup> Early American samplers resembled English examples in their general size, shape, and format. Not until the second quarter of the eighteenth century did American samplers take on their own distinct identity and became typically less formal and symmetrical than contemporary British ones.<sup>11</sup> English samplers (fig. 5) retained the seventeenth-century form longer while American samplers began to change in shape and format early in the eighteenth century. During that time the sampler evolved from a long narrow piece — usually not intended to be framed — to a shorter, mostly rectangular but sometimes square, sampler with four decorative borders (fig. 6) that could be framed and displayed as the showpiece of a daughter's needlework accomplishments.



Figure 4. Framed needlework samplers, silk on linen with padded details, by Mary Best, England, 1693. 3-4" X 8 1/2" (original dimensions). Acc. 1955-45 and 1955-46. Some time in the late eighteenth century, these samplers were created by cutting one long sampler apart. The inscription reads "John Best My Father Deare Paid for This That I Did Hear. Mary Best."



Figure 5. Sampler, silk on linen, reverse view, by Rebekah Osborne, England, 1728. 18" X 9 1/2". Acc. 1950-154. This sampler is not as elongated as its predecessors, marking the change in shape of English samplers. Its extremely neat back is a characteristic of many English and Virginia samplers.

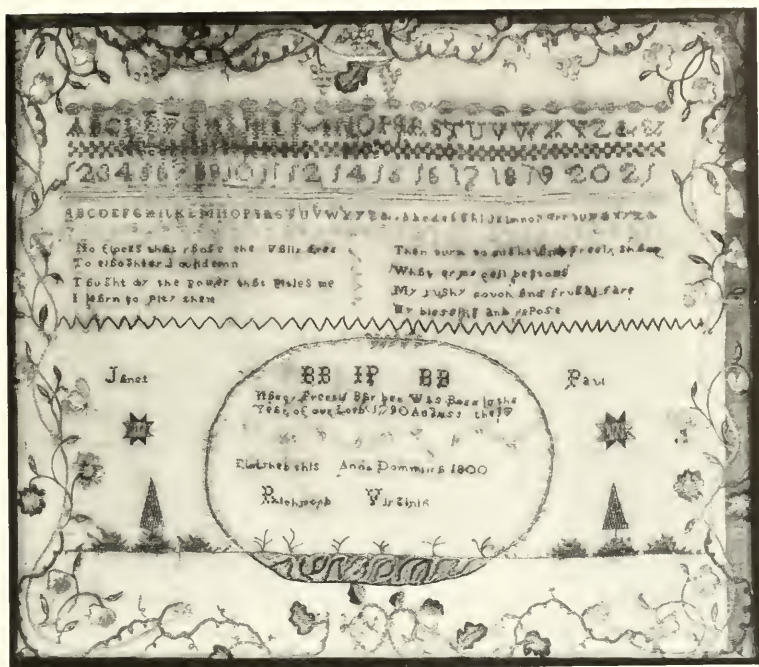


Figure 6. Sampler, silk on linen, by Nancy Prentis Barber, Richmond, 1800. 21 1/4" X 19". (See fig. 1). This sampler illustrates the complete evolution of the sampler to a rectangle with a greater width than length.

As the shape of the sampler changed, so did its significance and meaning. It became even clearer that the sampler was more than just a learning device for stitches and needlework patterns. In addition to representing a young woman's proficiency in the art of the needle, the finished sampler made a declaration about her character. It was a verification of her diligence, virtue, and good house-mistress skills, all important to fulfilling a woman's role in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century societies. The pious verses (fig. 7) the sampler-maker chose to stitch — or more likely were chosen for her — reflected an awareness of the proper behavior that society instilled in young women. The more elaborate samplers and embroideries also made a definite social statement proclaiming that the needleworker's family was of the social and financial level that could afford to send her to school or pay for tutoring.



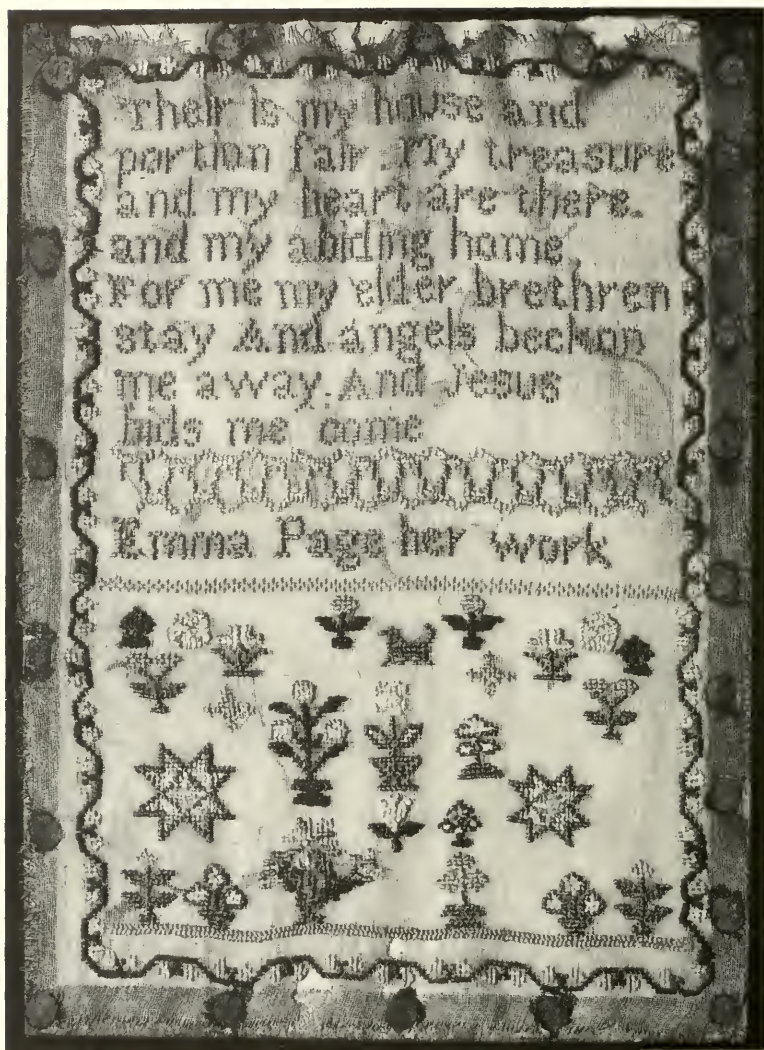


Figure 7. Sampler, silk on cotton, by Emma Page, Clarke County, c. 1840. 5 1/2" X 3 3/4". Acc. 1918-162. Emma Page was born at Pagebrook, her family's estate, in 1833. She married Phillip Nelson of Nelson County and had two children before she died in 1860 at the age of 27.



Instruction in needlework was a common thread in the lives of young girls of most social and economic levels, for it was felt that it ultimately prepared them for adulthood. In a 1787 letter to his daughter Martha, then enrolled in a French convent school, Thomas Jefferson wrote:

In the country life of America there are many moments when a woman can have recourse to nothing but her needle for employment. In a dull company and in dull weather for instance . . . The needle is then a valuable resource. Besides without knowing to use it herself, how can the mistress of a family direct the works of her servants?<sup>12</sup>

Frances Baylor Hill of Hillsborough (fig. 8) in King William County described her many needlework activities in a diary she kept from 1 January to 31 December 1797. During that time Frances worked on some type of sewing or needlework project almost every day of the year — 234 days to be exact, but never on Sundays. Her projects ranged from the plain sewing, such as mending, darning, and altering, that girls of all social classes needed to know to the more decorative or “fancy” needlework that was expected of wealthier girls with more leisure time. Entries such as, “drew a patron [pat-



*Figure 8. Hillsborough overlooks the Mattaponi River in King and Queen County and is the dwelling of Hill family descendants.*

tern] and work'd a handkerchief," "finish'd my pincushion," and "I work a few leaves on my counterpain [bedspread]," arouse curiosity about the appearance of her projects. Frances's final entry, written on Sunday, 31 December 1797, provides a colorful glimpse into her personality: "I finish'd my Counterpain on Saturday which has been about 3 year; And now make a conclusion of my journal which has been rather more tedious than I suppos'd it would have been when I first began."<sup>13</sup> That it took Frances only three years to complete her counterpane is remarkable considering her many other projects during the same period. An advertisement in the *Norfolk Gazette* dated 19 August 1807 gives a rare bit of information about the needlework prowess of a runaway slave girl. Such skills were probably taught to her by her mistress:

Ranaway from the subscriber living at Broad Rock, near the City of Richmond and town of Manchester, on Friday evening the 7th instant, a mulatto girl by the name of Nancy between 17 and 18 . . . has been brought up to the house business, is a good sempstress, can knit, and understands the marking very well by a sampler.<sup>14</sup>

Young girls of families that could afford it usually received some type of formal education outside the home (fig. 9). Starting as early as three years old, a girl might attend a dame school or classes taught by a woman in her home. There she learned elementary reading, simple arithmetic, and plain sewing by working a simple sampler.<sup>15</sup> Contrary to popular belief, almost all samplers were made under a teacher's instruction. As one modern-day scholar has expressed, "Samplers were an adult woman's art executed by a child's hand."<sup>16</sup> From a dame school, some girls moved on to a boarding school or home where they would encounter more specialized teachers and advanced needlework instruction. In 1752, for example, John Walker advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that his wife taught "young ladies all kinds of needle work," and in 1776 Mrs. Neill proposed opening a boarding school "on the same plan of the English schools" for young ladies in Williamsburg to instruct them in "reading, tambours, and other kinds of needle work . . . As nothing tends more to the Improvement of a Country than proper Schools for the Education of both Sexes."<sup>17</sup>

Not only did a distinct American form of sampler appear during the eighteenth century, but regional styles and characteristics developed in American needlework (figs. 10 and 11) just as they did in



*Figure 9. "The Schoolmistress . . . .," hand-colored mezzotint, London, 1804. 23 5/8" X 19". Acc. 1975-126.*



Figure 10. Sampler; silk on linen, by Mary Starker, Newbury, Massachusetts, 1760. 24 1/4" X 16 1/2". Acc. 1961-57. The pastoral and hunting scene depicted is typical of samplers and canvas work from the Newbury area.

American furniture. Schoolmistresses with their own unique patterns and techniques established spheres of influence throughout the colonies.<sup>18</sup> The trend during the period was toward a much freer, more original sampler with considerable variety in design and technique. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, regional characteristics emerge in Virginia schoolgirl embroideries, distinguishing them from embroideries made in other areas of North



America. These Virginia embroideries vary significantly among themselves. At present thirteen groups, two from the eighteenth century and eleven from the nineteenth, of embroideries have been isolated, each with distinguishing characteristics that reflect the influence of one teacher or school (see Appendix 1).<sup>19</sup>



*Figure 11. Sampler; silk on linen, by Mary Welsb, Boston, 1772. 22 1/2" X 16 1/2". Acc. 1962-309. Mary's sister, Grace, worked a similar sampler in 1774.*



Figure 12. Sampler, silk on linen, by Mary Willis Ambler, probably York County, mid-1770s. 10 3/4" X 6 3/8". Courtesy of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Mary Ambler (1766-1831) was the daughter of Jacquelin and Rebecca Amblin of Yorktown. She married John Marshall in 1783 and moved to Richmond.





Although it is difficult to give a description or set of guidelines for identifying a generic Virginia schoolgirl embroidery, a few general statements can be made. Besides the Virginia names and locations worked into these embroideries, they usually are rather plain and are less decorative than their northern counterparts. However, many show a remarkable degree of “neatness;” their backsides are almost mirror images of the fronts, especially on those made in eastern Virginia. Interestingly, this concern for craftsmanship is paralleled in eastern Virginia furniture, which is characterized by its “neat and plain” style with more attention to construction techniques than to carved ornamentation.<sup>20</sup>

Virginia samplers are similar in some respects to other American samplers. For example, many have survived in poor condition with missing embellishment threads and ground fabric. A few are merely fragments of their original appearance. The majority of identified Virginia work dates to the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries; the same can be said about pieces made throughout the United States. With the establishment and maintenance of more stable needlework schools and teachers in the nineteenth century, obviously more embroideries were stitched and therefore more have survived. However, at the time that northern samplers began diverging from English styles and developing their own regional characteristics, some Virginia embroiderers, particularly those from eastern Virginia, adhered to the popular stitches and designs seen in English needlework. A number of the early Virginia embroideries bear close similarities to English pieces, and some actually have been mistaken for English work until further research was completed. Only the needleworkers’ biographical information worked into some of these examples firmly documents them as Virginian and not English. There are probably more early Virginia pieces that have been identified incorrectly.

Reversible stitches such as the seven-step cross stitch (figs. 12 and 12a) and the double-sided cross stitch are common on both English and Virginia pieces, as are the combination of crowns, coronets, and figures of Adam and Eve. Other stitches consistently found in

*Figure 13. (Right.) Detail of wave motif on the statue commemorating Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, royal governor of Virginia, who died in 1770. Courtesy of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg. This statue was on public view in Williamsburg by 1773 and its designs may have influenced Virginia artisans.*





Virginia work are the Irish, eyelet, and rice.<sup>21</sup> Favorite motifs appearing on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century samplers made throughout Virginia include the wave, Greek key, hearts, birds, crowns, and coronets. Some sampler designs such as the wave and running dog are found on other decorative art forms including silver, ceramics, and furniture, as well as in architecture (fig. 13). One popular nineteenth-century format is the square sampler with a decorative border on four sides enclosing alphabets, numerals, and verses. The lower half of the sampler consists of a decorative scene, usually a centered house flanked by trees, birds, and other motifs. Sometimes the windows of the houses are open halfway.<sup>22</sup>

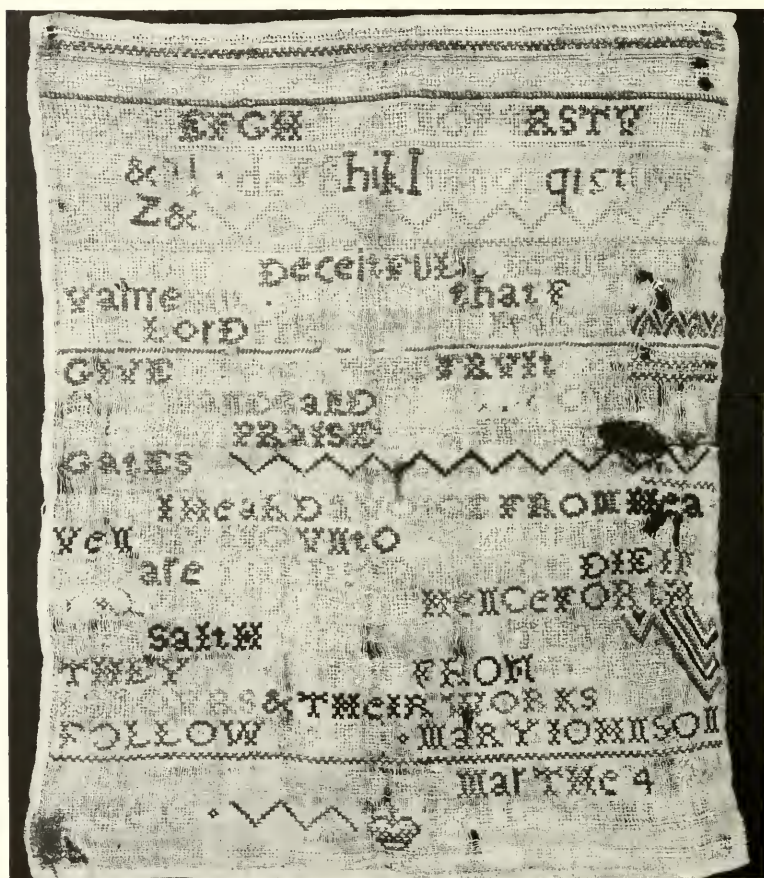
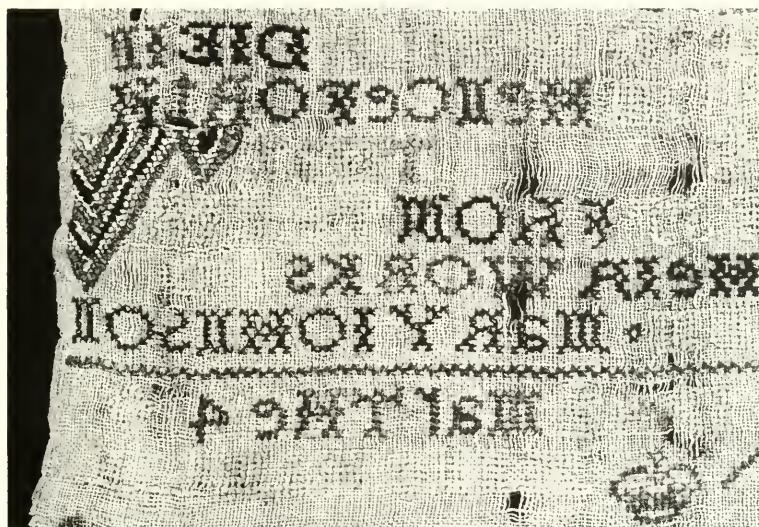
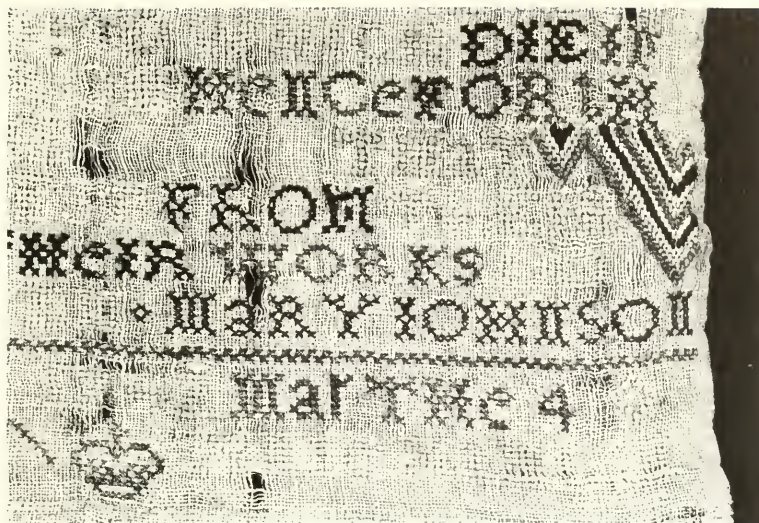


Figure 14. Sampler, silk on linen, by Mary Johnson, West Point area, 1742. 10 3/4" X 9". Acc. 1987-716.





Figures 14a. and 14b. Details of the front and back of Mary Johnson's sampler showing the use of Irish and reversible stitches and the crown motif.

The earliest known Virginia sampler (fig. 14) was made in the West Point area in 1742 by Mary Johnson.<sup>23</sup> At first glance, this sampler of alphabets, numbers, and verses appears rather plain and unimportant. However, a closer inspection reveals a combination of certain techniques and motifs (figs. 14a and b) that typify Virginia

needlework. Mary worked her sampler in a variety of reversible stitches, mainly the seven-step (fig. 15), also known as the brave bred, true marking, two-sided cross stitch, and marking stitch.<sup>24</sup> Other stitches and designs seen here that are characteristic of Virginia pieces are the Irish stitch and the presence of crowns.

CROSS FRONT AND BACK (SINGLE STITCH)

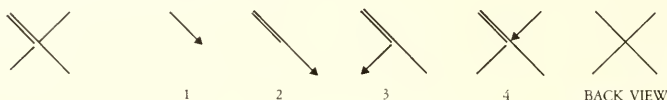


Figure 15. Seven-step reversible cross stitch, also known as the brave-bred, true-marking, two-sided cross, and marking stitch.

LINE DRAWING BY SUSAN COOPER

The same combination of motifs and techniques appears in an unfinished Isle of Wight County sampler (fig. 16) made by Sellah Fulgham in 1761. All stitches are so neatly executed that its back mirrors its front. The use of the Irish stitch and reversible cross and the inclusion of crowns, stars, and hearts are characteristic of Virginia samplers. Sellah's signature line is a variation of a popular English line and reads: "Sellah Fulgham is My Name Virginia is / My Nation the Isle White My Dwelling Place / And Christ My Salvation May the 20th / 1761 Worked this Samplar" (fig. 16a).

An important early group of samplers containing many of these same characteristics was made in the Williamsburg area in the last decade of the eighteenth century (see Appendix 1). Ann Pasteur Maupin, aged ten in 1791, stitched her sampler (fig. 17) on a thin linen ground of 39 by 32 threads per inch, using all reversible stitches. Ann lived in Williamsburg with her parents, Gabriel and Dorcas Maupin. A closely related sampler was worked by Sarah Walker Waller (fig. 18) with a similar fine linen ground and silk embellishment threads. Sarah was the daughter of Judith Page and John Waller of Spotsylvania and King William counties; her aunt, Catharine Page Waller, was married to Benjamin Waller of Williamsburg, and it is possible that Sarah lived in Williamsburg while she stitched her sampler. Both samplers depict identical tall, slender bushes and Adam and Eve with the serpent at the tree. They both

Figure 16. (Right.) Sampler, silk on linen, by Sellah Fulgham, Isle of Wight County, 1761. 17 1/8" X 8 7/8". Acc. G1988-460.





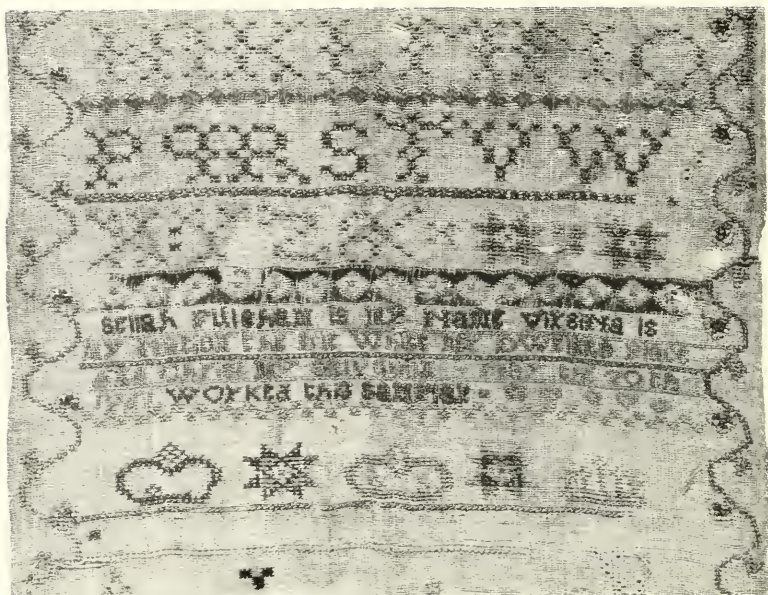


Figure 16a. Detail of Sellab Fulgham's sampler.

have the wave motif, crowns, and hearts, and even upper case letters created with silk embellishment threads of different colors. A fragment of a third sampler (fig. 19) with these characteristics recently was given to Colonial Williamsburg. Unfortunately, its bottom third, where the signature line and date would have been worked, is missing. However, its close similarities to the two described previously and its Williamsburg family history leave no doubt that it was made under the same influence. A fourth sampler related to these three has yet to be located. An entry in Bolton and Coe's 1921 publication, *American Samplers*, described a Williamsburg sampler made by Sarah Hornsby about 1793 with elements identical to the others: very fine cross stitch, tree of life, Adam and Eve, serpent, detached figures such as birds, trees, castles, baskets of flowers, and a verse identical to that of Ann Maupin's sampler: "Oh Heavenly Virtue Thine A Sacred Flame / And still My Soul Pays Homage To Thy Name."<sup>25</sup> Sarah Hornsby presumably worked her sampler with the same schoolmistress that taught Ann Pasteur Maupin, Sarah Walker Waller, and the unidentified maker of that illustrated in figure 19.





Figure 17. Sampler, silk on linen, by Ann Pasteur Maupin, Williamsburg, 1791. 16" X 11 1/8". Acc. 1981-161.

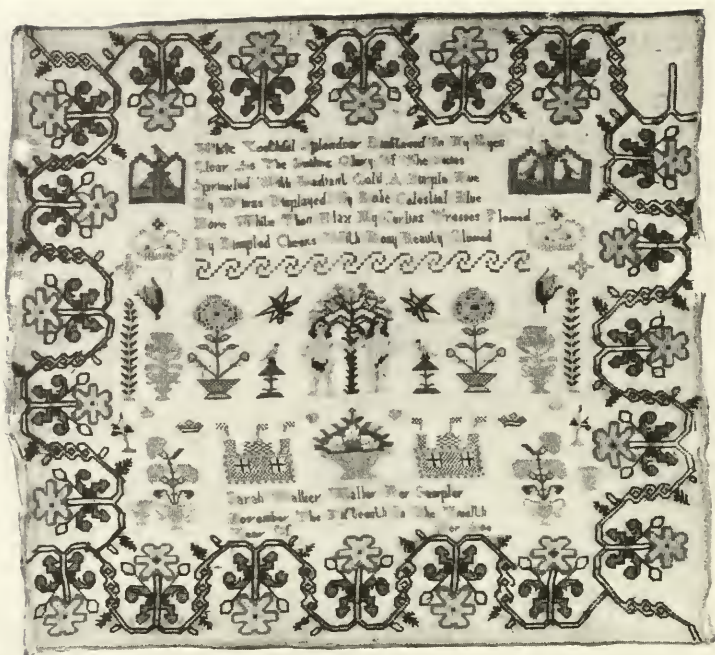


Figure 18. Sampler, silk on linen, by Sarah Walker Waller, probably Williamsburg, c. 1791. 18 3/8" X 17". Courtesy of the Clarke County Historical Association.

Very few Virginia samplers and needlework pictures were made on locally-woven ground fabrics. Most were worked in silk embellishment or embroidery threads on a natural-color linen ground fabric. These were the typical materials used in America from the seventeenth century to well into the nineteenth. The silk and linen were imported from Europe through England and sold at local Virginia stores. Other materials seen in Virginia schoolgirl embroideries include cotton, silk and wool grounds, wool embellishment threads, human hair, mica, sequins, beads, padding of faces, paper cutouts, and watercolors on silk. An 1808 Nansemond County sampler (fig. 20) by Esther Shivers is on a dark linen ground (see Appendix 1). At the age of fifteen Esther not only worked her sampler on an unusual ground, but she also used a variety of complicated stitches including herringbone, queen, and reversible cross stitch.





*Figure 19. Sampler fragment, silk on linen, unidentified maker, probably Williamsburg, c. 1791. 10 3/4" X 10 1/8". Acc. G1990-94.*

One prominent group of samplers can be identified by their uncommon ground fabric. Jannet Nimmo of the Norfolk area and Catherine Bett, probably of Norfolk, worked their samplers (figs. 21 and 22) in 1812 and 1825, respectively, on a thin glazed worsted wool woven in a plain weave, sometimes referred to as tammy (see Appendix 1). This type of ground is common to English samplers but is rarely documented on American pieces. The ground fabric is not the only unusual material utilized in the samplers. Jannet used a bead for the peacock's eye, and both girls worked the tree trunks in silk chenille threads which give them a soft, velvety pile (fig. 22a). Chenille refers to round, furry threads, and actually is the French word for caterpillar.<sup>26</sup> It was being imported to Virginia as early as 1772 by Mrs. Rathell, a Williamsburg shopkeeper. She wrote



Figure 20. Sampler, silk on linen, by Esther Shivers, Nansemond County, 1808. 26" X 16 3/4". Private collection. The dark ground is unusual for Virginia work.

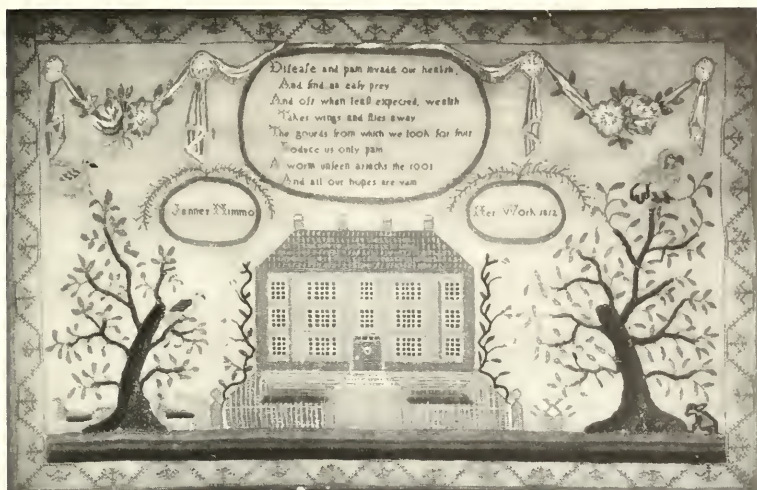


Figure 21. Sampler, silk and silk chenille on worsted; linen tape and bead, by Janet Nimmo, Princess Anne County, 1812. 14 3/8" X 21 5/8". Acc. 1989-365.

to John Norton in England on 22 July 1772: "I am in Much distress for them, the undernaith Articles without fail . . . 3 Dozn Bunches of Pink Shenell & 3 Dozn Do of Blue Sheneele & No Other Cou-lars."<sup>27</sup> These samplers, with their similar materials, composition, frame, stretcher, and melancholy verse flanked by Neo-classical swags, were certainly worked under the tutelage of the same unidentified teacher:

Disease and pain invade our health  
And find an easy prey  
And Oft when least expected, wealth  
Take Wings and flies away  
The gourds from which we look for fruit  
Produce us only pain,  
A worm unseen attacks the root  
And all our hopes are vain.

Although alphabet and decorative samplers such as Catherine Bett's and Jannet Nimmo's make up the majority of surviving Virginia samplers, other types have been documented, including those commemorating betrothals or weddings, family record samplers, and memorial samplers. One type that is found farther north and in England but has yet to be uncovered in Virginia is the map sampler.





Figure 22. Sampler, silk and silk chenille on worsted; cotton tape, by Catherine Bett, probably Norfolk area, 1825. 14 5/8" X 23 3/8". Acc. 1990-21.

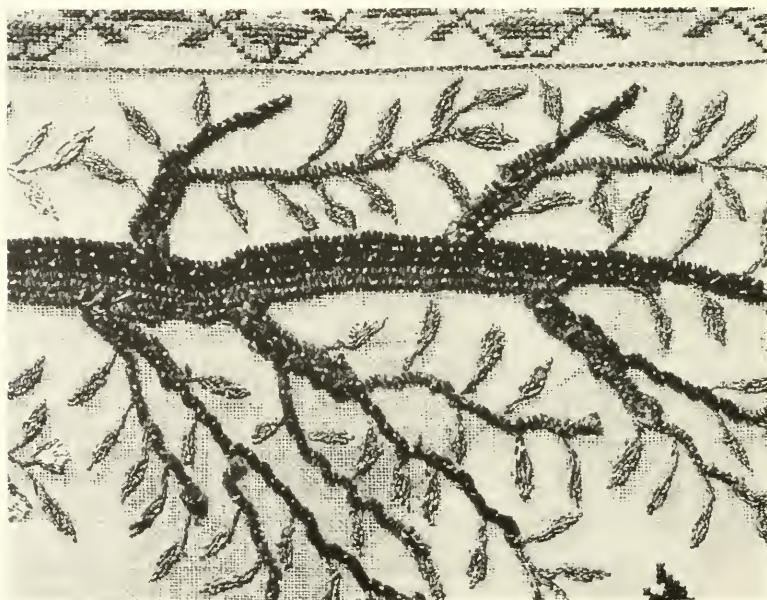


Figure 22a. Detail of Catherine Bett's sampler showing the use of silk chenille threads in the tree trunks.



However, an 1810 advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette* suggests that Virginia girls were making them. Mrs. Edmonds advertised that she taught “embroidery in chenilles, gold, silver and silk” as well as “Maps wrought in do.”<sup>28</sup>

The family register, or family record, sampler that appeared in Virginia after 1790 reflected the changes that were taking place in family life. During this period families became more nuclear and cohesive with the happiness and well-being of family life as the focus providing the emotional and economic support that earlier in the century had been supplied by the larger community and public sphere.<sup>29</sup> Family record samplers included stitched genealogical charts with information such as the birth, marriage, and death dates of the needleworker’s parents, brothers, sisters, and occasionally other family members or friends. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, such records often were combined as memorials for deceased family members (figs. 23 and 24).



Figure 23. Family register sampler, attributed to Martha Ann Waring, Essex County, c. 1824. 16 15/16" X 17 7/16". Acc. G1986-126. The upper portion of this piece consists of a poem dedicated to Mrs. Elizabeth Waring, Martha’s mother, who died in 1814, and a family record that lists the second marriage of Martha’s father in the same year. The poem reads: “Let sorrow for her early doom/ No more in silence sigh/ For hope which points beyond the tomb/ Bids every tear be dry.”



*Figure 24. This brooch (n. d.) in the form of a daguerrotype of Martha Ann Waring descended in the Waring family along with the sampler. 1 7/8" X 1 1/2". Acc. G1986-127.*

Three memorial samplers from the Smithfield, Virginia, area worked by sisters and stepsisters record the deaths of their parents and include family initials (see Appendix 1). In 1829 Martha Delk was the first to work her sampler. It commemorated the death of her father, Wiley Delk, who had died in 1820. Five years later, in 1834, her sister, Unity A. Delk (fig. 25), and her stepsister, Elizabeth

M. Cofer (fig. 26), completed similar pieces, although Elizabeth's sampler honored the death of her mother, Jerusha Cofer, who had died in 1823. After the death of Elizabeth's mother, her father, Joseph Cofer, married Martha and Unity's mother, Patsey Delk, bringing the three girls together.<sup>30</sup> Another sampler dedicated to a deceased family member was made in 1828 by Margaret Kerr of Augusta County (fig. 27) in memory of her brother, Bailey Kerr, who



Figure 25. Sampler, silk on linen, by Unity A. Delk, Smithfield area, 1834. 20 1/2" X 17 1/4". Private collection. Mount Pleasant, worked over the house, may refer to the Cocke family house still standing on the James River in Surry County.







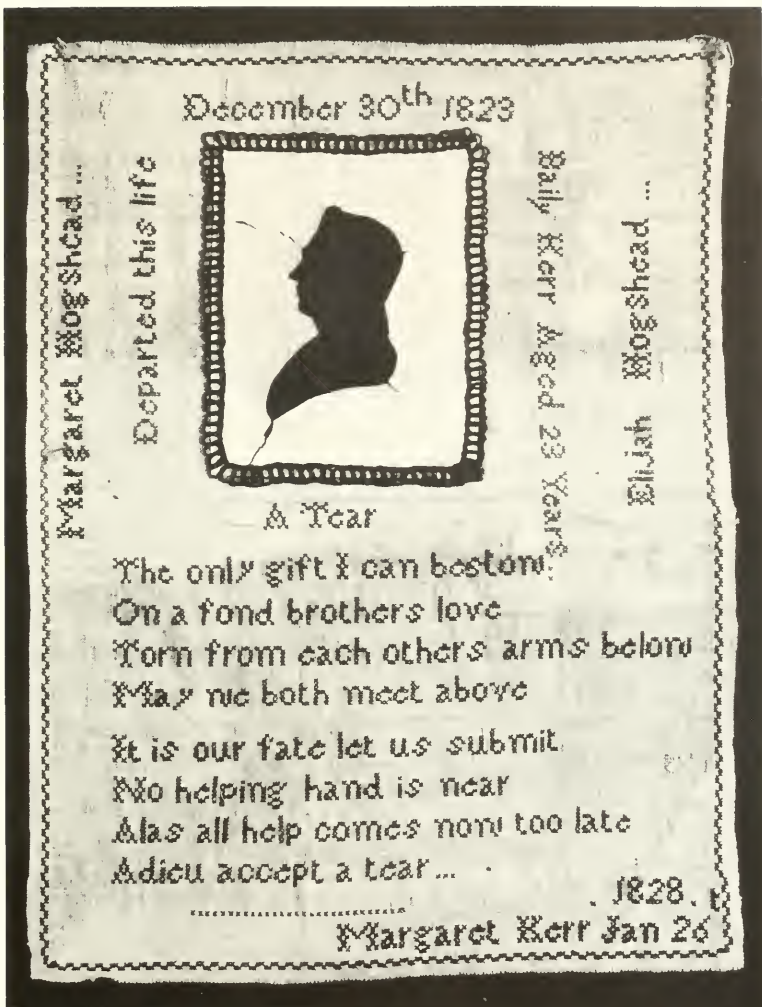


Figure 27. Sampler, silk on linen with paper and hair, by Margaret Kerr, Augusta County, 1828. 12 3/4" X 9 7/8". Acc. 1989-112. This sampler mourns the death of Margaret's brother in 1823 and acknowledges her marriage to Elijah Hogshead.

had died in 1823. Incorporated into the sampler are human hair and a paper silhouette of Bailey. The poem reads:

A Tear  
The only gift I can bestow  
On a fond brothers love  
Torn from each others arms below  
May we both meet above  
It is our fate let us submit  
No helping hand is near  
Alas all help comes now too late  
Adieu accept a tear.



Figure 28. Needlework picture, silk on silk and linen with mica, sequins, padding, and paint, by Mary Abney, probably Rockbridge County, 1802. 17" X 15 3/4". Acc. 1898-304.

Some Virginia schoolgirls worked more elaborate embroidered pictures. One silk-on-silk needlework picture (fig. 28) by Mary Abney, probably stitched in Rockbridge County about 1802, is the type of work a girl would attempt after having mastered the needle by working one or perhaps several samplers (see Appendix 1). This picture is one of the few Virginia pieces that has everything — padded faces, painted sky, paillettes (better known as sequins) in the border, and mica in the windows (fig. 28a). Entitled “Palemon and Lavinia,” it is taken from James Thomson’s long poem, *The Seasons*, published in England during the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Thomson’s fable was inspired by the Old Testament Book of Ruth and is a romanticized version of the story of Boaz and Ruth.



*Figure 28a. Detail of Mary Abney's picture showing the mica in the windows.*





Figure 29. Elizabeth Boush, oil on canvas, by John Durand, Norfolk, 1769. 30" X 25 1/2". Acc. 1982-271. Elizabeth was sixteen years old at the time of this painting.

Old Testament subjects were popular with American schoolgirls during the eighteenth century. At the age of sixteen, Elizabeth Boush (fig. 29) of Norfolk worked her picture of the "Sacrifice of Isaac" in silk petit point on a silk ground of 38 to 40 threads per inch (fig. 30). Her picture was probably derived from a block print in the *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Veteris Testamenti*, published by Gerard de Jode in Antwerp in 1585.<sup>32</sup> According to the embroidered inscription beneath the picture, Elizabeth worked her piece at "E. Gardners" in 1768 and 1769. "E. Gardners" refers to Elizabeth Gardner Armston, who advertised her Norfolk school in the *Virginia Gazette* from 1766 until 1772:

The subscriber begs leave to inform the publick that she has taken a house in Norfolk bourough, for the accommodating young Ladies as boarders; where are taught the following things, viz. Embroidery, tent work . . . queenstitch, Irish do. and all kinds or shading . . . and Shell work . . . and artificial flowers.<sup>33</sup>

This picture is the earliest known American needlework to identify its school of origin and is still one of the few southern embroideries known to have been made at a specific school.<sup>34</sup>

Teachers, professional painters, framers, and embroiderers imported English prints, paintings, and drawings and offered them for sale and rent as suitable design sources for needlework pictures. Some even provided their own original drawings at a lower price. These "originals" often were later copies of English prints and drawings and generally were simpler renditions, many with distinctly American additions such as eagles.<sup>36</sup> A few schoolgirls may have designed their own pictures. Many sources were available: imported fabrics from Italy and the Orient, reissues of old pattern books, books with engravings, and tradesmen's manuals. Few of these books have survived, for most were ruined by the practice of pricking and pouncing the pages, which was necessary for transferring the patterns onto fabric. Occasionally teachers used English patterns created specifically for white work. Mrs. Tennant of Norfolk advertised in 1796 that "to enable her to teach from the most approved methods, as in Britian, she has procured at a very great expense a large and general Assortment of Stamps, of the most fashionable patterns."<sup>36</sup> These stamps produced systematic designs and configurations rather than pictures, however.

Unfortunately for students of Virginia needlework, most samplers and needlework pictures do not identify where the piece was made or under whose instruction. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century newspaper advertisements, insurance records, guardian books, and other contemporary documents indicate that there were numerous schools and teachers for female education and the needle arts (see Appendix 2). One 1786 advertisement for a Henrico County boarding school is of special interest because it compares the education of girls and boys: "The Girls on Saturdays will be taught plain Needle work, and the Duties incumbent on Mistresses of Families. No other Difference will be made between the Education of Boys and Girls, except the Girls will not be taught Mathematics."<sup>37</sup> Many teachers advertised themselves as being "just





from England” or as “teaching in the English style.” It is evident from the records that many of the teachers relocated frequently, traveling from one Virginia city to another and spreading their own distinct styles of needlework. In 1795 Mrs. Bell advertised in Alexandria as being from Charleston. In 1797 she had moved to Norfolk and in 1799 she was in Richmond, once again advertising as being from Charleston (see Appendix 2).

One group of Virginia samplers that cannot be assigned to a specific school or region is characterized by Quaker alphabets and motifs. Quaker women teaching up and down the east coast used a particular style of lettering and motifs that originated at the Friend’s School in Ackworth and York, England. The Quaker alphabet is distinct in its size and boldness, and typical Quaker motifs usually worked in cross stitches included pairs of birds, wreaths, sprays of roses, and medallions.<sup>38</sup> Sarah Bruce Butt’s 1811 sampler (fig. 31) depicts subtle but recognizable Quaker motifs such as lilies of the valley, sprays of flowers, and a geometric medallion enclosing a bird and vine (see Appendix 1). Sarah was the daughter of Nathaniel and Frances Butt of old Lower Norfolk County.

Occasionally a Virginia piece does indicate where it was made and or under whose instruction. One example is a rather fragile sampler (fig. 32) made in Rockbridge County in 1819. Although the maker did not include her own name, she did stitch the following: “Female Academy Lexington March 28th 1819.” That academy, also known as the Ann Smith Academy, opened in 1807. Named for its first principal, Miss Ann Smith, the Presbyterian academy operated as a private institution until 1908 when it became the property of the town of Lexington.<sup>39</sup> Another sampler (fig. 33) worked in Portsmouth in 1837 gives insight into the influence of one schoolteacher and her relationship with her student. E. Lee worked into her sampler a brief commemoration to her teacher: “Wrought by E. Lee for her affectionate teacher. Portsmouth Va July 24th 1837.” Mary Tomlin’s sampler (fig. 34) not only gives its maker’s name and age, but includes her parents’ names, John W. and Margaret W. Tomlin; her home, Clifton, in Hanover County; and where she made the piece,

*Figure 30. (Left.) Needlework picture, silk on silk, by Elizabeth Boush, Norfolk, 1768-69. 19 1/2" X 11 1/2". MESDA Research File S-6224, acc. 2847.*



Figure 31. Sampler, silk on linen, by Sarah Bruce Butt, old Lower Norfolk County, 1811. 24 1/4" X 16 3/8". Acc. 1989-34. Although Sarah's lettering is not as bold and distinct as typical Quaker alphabets, her motifs worked in cross stitch at the bottom of the sampler are Quaker in style. Subtle Quaker characteristics such as these are seen in a number of Virginia samplers.

Greenwood Seminary, as well. Unfortunately, Greenwood Seminary has not been located. It is believed to have been in Hanover County, but it could have been in a neighboring county (see Appendix I). Mary's verse is a popular one found on other American and Virginia samplers:

Religion is the chief concern  
Of mortals here below  
May I its great importance learn  
Its sovereign virtue know  
Religion should our thoughts engage  
Amidst our youthful bloom  
Twill fit us for declining age  
And for the awful tomb.



Figure 32. Sampler, silk on linen, unidentified maker, Lexington Female Academy, Lexington, 1819. 16 1/8" X 17 1/2". Acc. G1984-149.



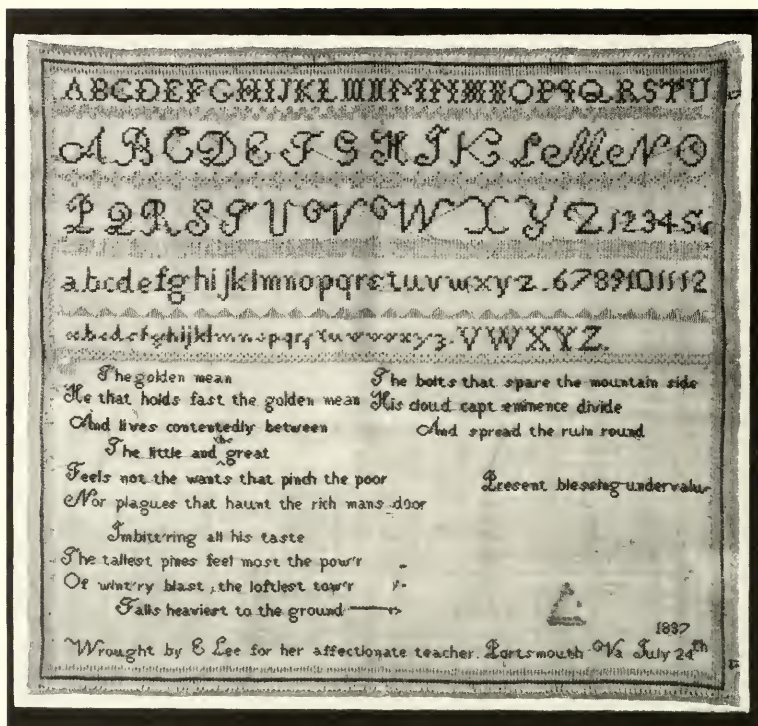


Figure 33. Unfinished sampler, silk on linen, E. Lee, Portsmouth, 1837. 16 1/2" X 18". Acc. G1988-477.

Reading and researching poignant sampler inscriptions such as this conjures up images of the needleworkers and their teachers, for these verses reveal something of their characters and convey personal values. Religious and pious verses were an integral part of the sampler and appear in Virginia work as early as 1742, mostly due to the religious discussions and thoughts that were part of everyday life and education during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

One hundred and seven different verses have been recorded from Virginia samplers (see Appendix 3). Some of these same verses appear up and down the east coast as well as in England;<sup>40</sup> many were taken from the popular published writings of men such as Alexander Pope and Isaac Watts. Reverend Watts, in particular, was a favored English religious author best known for his children's hymns and verses.<sup>41</sup> The most prevalent verse (fig. 35) on samplers originating in Virginia and England was probably written by the Reverend John Newton:

Jesus permit thy gracious name to stand  
As the first effort of an infant hand  
And while her fingers o'er this canvass move  
Engage her tender heart to seek thy love  
With thy dear children let her share a part  
And write thy name thyself upon her heart.<sup>42</sup>



Figure 34. Sampler, silk on linen, by Mary Tomlin, Greenwood Seminary, probably Hanover County, 1817. 17 1/8" X 16 7/8" (framed). Acc. 1990-39. The open windows are a characteristic seen on other Virginia samplers.

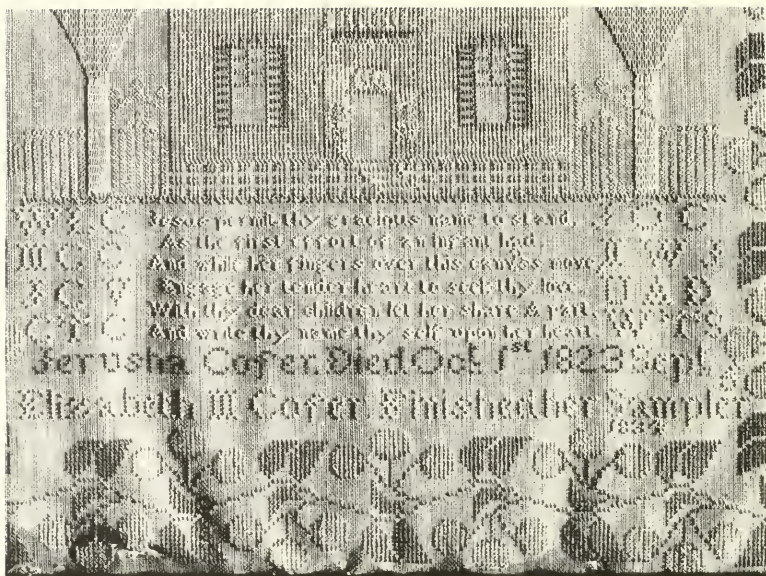


Figure 35. Detail of Elizabeth Cofer's sampler (see fig. 26) depicting the verse most commonly found on Virginia samplers.

The study of Virginia schoolgirl embroideries is an educational and rewarding experience. Discovering an unknown Virginia sampler or unearthing a new bit of information about an already known work is similar to assembling the pieces of a puzzle. Researching the schoolgirls and their teachers provides an insight into the lives of these eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women. Most significantly, the embroideries evoke the pride the girls must have felt in their accomplishments and their desire to be remembered as demonstrated by Eliza Woodrow's verse, "When this you see remember me / Though many miles apart, When I do see you once again / It will ease my troubled heart."<sup>43</sup>



## APPENDIX I

### GROUPS OF VIRGINIA SCHOOLGIRL EMBROIDERIES

#### Group I.

Sampler, Ann Pasteur Maupin (fig. 17)

Silk on linen

20 October 1791

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1981-161

Sampler, Sarah Walker Waller (fig. 18)

Silk on linen

c. 1790

Collection of the Clarke County Historical Society

Sampler, Sarah Hornsby

Silk on linen

c. 1793

Bolton and Coe, *American Samplers*.

Sampler fragment, unknown maker (fig. 19)

Silk on linen

c. 1790

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. G1990-94

These four samplers are related to each other in the use of the same fine linen ground (approximately 39 x 32 threads per inch) and embellishment threads, reversible cross stitches to create a neat backside, and detached figures such as Adam and Eve, serpent, tree of life, coronets, wave, tall slender bushes, hearts, castles, and baskets of flowers. Embellishment threads of different colors are used for capital letters of each word. Two share the identical verse (see: Appendix 3, verse 28). All have a Williamsburg connection.

#### Group II.

Sampler, Frances Ragsdale

Silk on linen

1797

Collection of the Valentine Museum.

Sampler, Mildred Ragsdale

Silk on linen

1800

Private collection.

Frances and Mildred Ragsdale were sisters from King William County. Their simple alphabet samplers with family initials are almost identical in size, format, and materials.

#### Group III.

Unfinished sampler, Susan Riddick

Silk on linen

31 January 1806

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1978-91.

Sampler, Esther Goodwin Shivers (fig. 20)

Silk on linen

15 June 1808

Private collection.

Sampler, Sarah Bruce Butt (fig. 31)

Silk on linen

18 June 1811

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1989-34.

Sampler, Elizabeth Mary Wise  
Silk on cotton  
c. 1820  
Private collection.

All four of these samplers have been attributed to the Norfolk and Nansemond County area. Similar characteristics include the working of the cross stitch to resemble Irish stitch, use of queen stitch, pieced ground fabric, and Quaker alphabets and motifs.

#### Group IV.

Sampler, Mildred Malone  
Wool, silk, and paint on linen  
8 September 1817  
Collection of the Valentine Museum.

Sampler, Flora Virginia Holmes  
Wool, silk, and paint on linen  
1829  
Collection of the Valentine Museum.

The unusual use of wool embellishment threads in the borders and the painted scenes in the center of these pieces suggests that they were worked under the same influence. They have been attributed to the Richmond area.

#### Group V.

Sampler, Mary Kennerly  
Silk on linen  
1815  
Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1987-687.

Sampler, Susana S. Rees[e]  
Silk on linen  
c. 1815  
Collection of the Lynchburg Museum System.

Sampler, Martha Jane Whittenton  
Silk on linen  
1833  
Collection of the Lynchburg Museum System.

Sampler, Ann Eliza Bailey  
Silk on linen?  
c. 1820  
Private collection.

These four Lynchburg samplers are characterized by Quaker alphabets, double hearts and wave motifs, and the use of the Irish stitch.

#### Group VI.

Sampler, Mary Muir  
Silk on linen  
8 June 1818  
Collection of the Lyceum, Alexandria.

Sampler, Mary Harrison  
Silk on linen  
July 1830  
Collection of the National Museum of American History.

Mary Muir and Mary Harrison worked their Alexandria samplers in queen, cross, satin, and stem stitches. They share the same geometric strawberry border with an unusual building and tree in the center. Mary Muir may have been the daughter of Dr. James Muir who operated a

school for female education in Alexandria (see Appendix 2). However, her birth date suggests that she was the daughter of a John Muir.

#### Group VII.

Sampler, Jannet Nimmo (fig. 21)

Silk and silk chenille threads on tammy

1812

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1989-365.

Sampler, Catherine Bett (fig. 22)

Silk and silk chenille threads on tammy

1825

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1990-21.

Jannet and Catherine worked their samplers 13 years apart using the identical tammy ground fabric and silk chenille embellishment threads. The stretcher technique, inner frame, and frame are also identical. They share the same verse (see Appendix 3, verse 6).

#### Group VIII.

Sampler, Mary W. Tomlin (fig. 34)

Silk on linen

1817

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1990-39.

Sampler, Mildred B. Chewning

Silk on linen

1835

Collection of the Valentine Museum.

Sampler, Sarah E. Reynolds

Silk on linen

1848

Private collection.

All three samplers have similar formats with the use of the Quaker alphabet, heavy strawberry and vine border, and half-open windows. Two share the same verse (see Appendix 3, verse 45). Mildred B. Chewning and Sarah Reynolds worked their pieces under the tutelage of Lucy Mary Quisenberry Montague (see Appendix 2). The three samplers have been attributed to Hanover and Caroline Counties.

#### Group IX.

Sampler, Maker unknown

Silk on linen

c. 1828

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1988-501.

Sampler, Eliza J. Spratley

Silk on linen

1828

Private collection.

Sampler, Lilius Blair McPhail

Silk on linen

c. 1828

Collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art.

These three Norfolk samplers are characterized by densely worked water scenes, heavy wave bands, and bold floral borders. All three have the same verse (see Appendix 3, verse 24).

#### Group X.

Sampler, Virginia Ann Clark

Silk on linen



1828

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1986-10.

Sampler, unknown maker

Silk on linen

c. 1828

Location unknown.

These two Norfolk samplers share the same densely worked area at the bottom which includes a castle and verses (see Appendix 3, verses 26 and 53).

Group XI.

Sampler, Martha Delk

Silk on linen

21 May 1829

Private collection.

Sampler, Unity A[deline] Delk (fig. 25)

Silk on linen

5 September 1834

Private collection.

Sampler, Elizabeth M. Cofer

Silk on linen

6 September 1834

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. G1988-461.

Martha, Unity, and Elizabeth were sisters and half sisters living in the Smithfield area. Their samplers commemorate the deaths of their father and mother and share the same ground fabric (approximately 28 x 29 threads per inch) and embellishment threads. Stitches include cross, rice, square cross, off-set Irish worked over six threads and back two. Half-open windows are in the three-story houses in the center of each piece. Two share the identical verse (see Appendix 3, verse 43).

Group XII.

Sampler, Mahala Cline

Silk on linen

1830

Location unknown.

Sampler, Mary R. Sommers

Silk on linen

9 February 1844

Private collection.

Sampler, Eleanor Hankel

Silk on linen

1844

Private collection.

Sampler, Elizabeth Shirley

Silk on linen

9 April 1844

Private collection.

Related characteristics of these New Market samplers are their saw-tooth borders, bold vine borders, and house, fence, and tree. Other embroideries similar to these have been researched by Roddy Moore.

Group XIII.

Needlework picture, Drusilla De La Fayette Tate

Silk, silk chenille, mica, sequins, padding, and paint on silk and linen ground

1802

Private collection.

Needlework picture, Mary Abney (fig. 28)

Silk, silk chenille, mica, sequins, padding, and paint on silk and linen ground

c. 1802

Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1989-304.

The subject, "Palemon and Lavinia," and the almost identical verse (see Appendix 3, verse 36), materials, and stitches seen in these pictures strongly suggests that they were worked under the same influence. Both of these embroideries have been attributed to the Rockbridge County area where it is known that Drusilla lived as an adult.

## APPENDIX 2

### VIRGINIA SCHOOLGIRL TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS

ADAMS, Mrs., *Culpeper County*, 1812.

"Teaching fine Needle-work of every description . . . school . . . supplied with elegant patterns, and their work drawn at a moderate expense." (*Virginia Herald*, 23 Dec. 1812)

Mr. ANDERSON'S ACADEMY/ CAMP, Mrs., *Lynchburg, Campbell County*, 1809.

"FOR FEMALE EDUCATION . . . Mrs. Camp . . . sister of Mr. A. and guardian of the young ladies." (*Enquirer*, 5 Sept. 1809.)

ANGERONE SEMINARY, *Winchester, Frederick County*, 1835.

"Assisted by Miss Henry and Miss Pole . . . Needlework." (*Martinsburg Gazette*, 7 May 1835.)

ANN SMITH ACADEMY, *Lexington, Rockbridge County*, 1807-1908.

"Useful and ornamental branches of female education." (*Martinsburg Gazette*, 28 Oct. 1808.)

"Engaged Mrs. SELINA NICKOLS to conduct the seminary." (*Virginia Herald*, 29 Oct. 1817 and William Pusey, *The History of the Female Academy in Lexington, Virginia*, Lexington, Va., 1983.)

Sampler, unknown maker, 1819 (fig. 32).

ARMSTON, E., *Point Pleasant, Norfolk*, 1766-74?

"Better known by the Name of Gardner . . . School . . . PetitPoint . . . Nuns Work, Embroidery in Silk, Gold, Silver, Pearls . . . Dresden . . . Catgut . . . after the newest Taste, and most elegant Pattern . . . other embellishments necessary for the Amusement of Persons of Fortune who have Taste." (*Virginia Gazette*, 20 Feb. 1772.)

See E. Gardner.

ARMSTRONG, Elizabeth, *Shepherdstown*, 1810.

"SCHOOL . . . Plain Sewing, marking, Tambour, and all kinds of Needle Work and Embroidery." (*Hagers-Town Gazette*, 6 Feb. 1810.)

BAKER, Mrs., *Dinwiddie County*, 1816.

"SCHOOL . . . ordinary needlework." (*Petersburg Republican*, 20 Sept. 1816.)

BANKS, Mrs., *Fredericksburg*, 1809-10.

"School . . . all kind of Needle work." (*Virginia Herald*, 1 Dec. 1810.)

BANKS, Mrs. Elizabeth, *Petersburg*, 1816.

"SCHOOL . . . Needle Work." (*Republican*, 9 Jan. 1816.)

"THE BANNISTER HOME," *Sussex County, early nineteenth century*.

(Stephenson, Mary A., *Old Homes in Surry and Sussex*.)

BARRON, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1810-20.

"Seminary . . . Needle Work . . . plain Needle work and marking."

(*American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, 17 Dec. 1818.) "Seminary . . . plain and ornamental Needle-work." (Ibid., 24 Oct. 1819.) "MRS. RUSSELL . . . engaged to attend Mrs. Barron's Seminary." (*Norfolk Herald*, 23 Oct. 1820 and *American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, 24 Oct. 1819.) "Mrs. Barron and Mrs. Russell having united their Establishments . . . Worsted and Rug Work, Embroidery . . . Sampler Work and Plain Sewing." (Ibid., 28 Dec. 1820.)

BELFIELD FEMALE ACADEMY, *Greenville County*, 1810.

"Embroidery, Tambouring, and all sorts of Needlework." (*Petersburg Intelligencer*, 13 Nov. 1810.)

BELL, Mrs., *Alexandria*, 1795 (from *Charleston*).

"SCHOOL . . . Plain Work, Marking, Open Work and Embroidery." (*Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, 4 July 1795.)

BELL, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1797.

"SCHOOL . . . Plain Sewing, Marking, Open work, and Embroidery." (*Norfolk Herald & Public Advertiser*, 9 Sept. 1797.)

BELL, Mrs., *Richmond*, 1799 (from *Charleston*).

"Boarding School . . . Plain Work, Marking, Open Work and Embroidery — also the first Rudiments of Drawing, such as Vines or Flowers." (*Virginia Argus*, 6 Dec. 1799.)

BERAULD, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1799.

"SCHOOL . . . every kind of Needlework, Embroidery shadowed . . . Flowers, Drawing." (*Norfolk Herald*, 3 Dec. 1799.)

BOBBIT, Mrs./LAWRENCEVILLE ACADEMY, *Brunswick County*, 1820 (from *Louisburg, N. C.*).

"Together with Embroidery." (*Petersburg Republican*, 13 Oct. 1820.)

BOSWORTH, Miss A., *Petersburg*, 1819.

"[Jonathan Smith] engaged Miss A. BOSWORTH . . . various branches of education usually taught in female seminaries . . . plain and ornamental needle work." (Ibid., 24 Dec. 1819.)

See Petersburg Female Academy.

BOWLES, Mrs., *Portsmouth*, 1819.

"Seminary . . . useful and ornamental Needle Work." (*American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, 8 Feb. 1819.)

BOYLES, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1816.

"Seminary . . . Plain Sewing and Marking, Tambour, Netting." (*American Beacon and Commercial Diary*, 2 Feb. 1816.)

BROOKS, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1816.

"WAX WORK . . . School . . . Basket and other Fancy Work." (Ibid., 27 Nov. 1816.)

BUTLER, Miss, *Portsmouth*, 1817.

"School . . . Needlework . . . Plain Sewing." (*American Beacon and Commercial Diary*, 24 July 1817.)

BYRD, Mrs. Anna/ THE RICHMOND ACADEMY, *Richmond*, 1807.

"Needle-work." (*Enquirer*, 29 Jan. 1807.)

CAMP, Mrs./ MR. ANDERSON'S ACADEMY, *Lynchburg*, 1809.

"MR. ANDERSON'S ACADEMY, FOR EDUCATION . . . Mrs. Camp . . . guardian of the young ladies." (Ibid., 5 Sept. 1809.)

CAMP, Mrs., *Richmond*, 1810, 1818.

Opened an institution with Mr. Anderson: "Miscellaneous subjects, that are either essential or highly ornamental in polite Education." (Ibid., 14 Aug. 1810.) "Mrs. Camp take charge of the domestic circle." (*Richmond Enquirer*, 7 Apr. 1818.)



CAMPBELL, Mrs., *Fredericksburg*, 1807.

"SCHOOL . . . plain and ornamental Needle Work, Tambouring, Embroidery." (*Virginia Herald*, 27 Nov. 1807.)

CAMPBELL, Mrs. James? *Petersburg*, 1813 (from *Europe*).

"Embroidery . . . assisted by her two daughters . . . Academy." (*Republican*, 8 Jan. 1813.)

CHANDLER, Miss, *Manchester*, 1809.

"MANCHESTER FEMALE ACADEMY . . . elegant Needle-Work." Miss Chandler was educated by Mrs. O'Reilly. (*Enquirer*, 7 Feb. 1809.)

CHARLES TOWN ACADEMY, *Charles Town*, (West) *Virginia*, 1811.

"The subscriber [B. R. Saunders] has also engaged a lady, to instruct young ladies in needle work." (*Farmer's Repository*, 4 Oct. 1811.)

CLARK, Miss Anne, *Petersburg*, 1820.

"*Petersburg Female Academy* . . . [Jonathan Smith] engaged MISS ANN CLARK . . . as instructress." (*Petersburg Republican*, 29 Dec. 1820.)

See *Petersburg Female Academy*.

COWARDINE, Mrs., WILLIAM WHITE'S FEMALE SCHOOL, *Jamestown*, *Prince Edward County*, early nineteenth century.

(MESDA Research Files and Herbert Clarence Bradshaw, *History of Prince Edward County*.) Mrs. Cowardine also taught at the Pridesville Female Seminary in Amelia County. (*Richmond Enquirer*, 10 Dec. 1815.)

Sampler, Mary Calloway White?, 1834.

CROUCH, Mary B., *Richmond*, 1817.

"School . . . marking and needle work." (*Daily Compiler*, 10 Jan. 1817.)

CUNNINGHAM, Rachel, *Isle of Wight County*, 1816.

"Seminary . . . Needle-Work." (*American Beacon and Commercial Diary*, 30 Dec. 1816.)

Sampler, Virginia Ann Godwin, undated.

DAVIDS, M., *Norfolk*, 1788.

"Also young Misses plain Sewing and Marking." (*Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 13 Feb. 1788.)

DAVIS, Miss, *Richmond and Manchester*, 1818.

"DAY SCHOOL . . . Embroidery, Tambour Work, plain and ornamental needle work." (*Daily Compiler*, 1 June 1818.)

DEANE, Mary B., *Lynchburg*, 1814.

"School . . . Needle Work . . . Artificial Work . . . WAX WORK." (*Lynchburg Press*, 1 Dec. 1814.)

DE GRUCHY, Mrs., *Richmond*, 1817 (from *London*).

"Academy . . . Muslin work with all the different Lace stitches, the making of fringe, the netting of Purses, with all the different kinds of fancy works." (*Richmond Commercial Compiler*, 7 June 1817.)

DERIEUX, Mrs., *Richmond*, 1817.

"ACADEMY . . . plain needlework . . . Embroidery of silk or satin, with chenille, silk, silver or gold thread." (*Daily Compiler*, 27 Dec. 1817.)

DOW'NIE, Mrs. S., *Richmond*, 1805 (from *London*).

"SCHOOL . . . Plain Work . . . Embroidery, Philligree . . . Fancy work." (*Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 30 Mar. 1805.)

DUKE, Mrs., *Williamsburg*, 1769-70.

"Teach NEEDLEWORK in the neatest manner." "Will take in NEEDLEWORK, and teach children." (*Virginia Gazette*, 21 Sept. 1769 and 29 Nov. 1770.)

DUNLAP, Maria Anne, *Alexandria*, 1810.

"School . . . Embroidery, Tambour, Marking, Working maps, plain work, &c." (*Alexandria Daily Gazette Commercial & Political*, 2 Oct. 1810.)

EDMONDS, Mrs., *Alexandria*, 1810.

"School . . . Embroidery in cheniles, gold, silver and silk. Maps wrought in do." (*Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 6 Mar. 1810.)

EDMONDS, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1818.

"Plain and Ornamental Needlework." (*American Beacon and Commercial Diary*, 23 Feb. 1818.)

ELLET, Miss Jennie? *Richmond*, early nineteenth century.

St. Catherine's School (Valentine Museum Research Files.) Sampler, Elizabeth Ellet, early nineteenth century.

ELLZEY, Mrs. R., *Loudon County*, 1818.

Mrs. Ellzey opens school for young ladies, with assistance of Miss Riley "a young lady of very polished manners" in needlework.

(MESDA Research Files.)

FARMSWORTH, Mrs., *Alexandria*, 1802.

"School . . . sewing in its different branches, Embroidery, &c." (*Alexandria Advertiser and Commercial Intelligencer*, 13 Aug. 1802.)

FEMALE ACADEMY, *Culpeper County*, 1808.

"Useful and ornamental Needle work." (*Virginia Herald*, 14 Dec. 1808.)

FEMALE INSTITUTION, *New Glasgow*, *Jefferson County*, 1819.

"Plain Needlework . . . Ornamental Needlework." (*Richmond Enquirer*, 4 May 1819.)

FERGUSON, Euphania W., *Richmond*, 1817-19.

"Seminary . . . Embroidery, plain and ornamental needlework." (*Richmond Commercial Compiler*, 22 Sept. 1817 and *Richmond Enquirer*, 20 Aug. 1819.)

Needlework picture, Mary Ann Stetson, 1818.

FLETCHER, Miss, *Norfolk*, 1808.

"SCHOOL . . . Female Education, Marking, Flowering, Lace Work, Tambouring, Embroidery, Filligree." (*Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger*, 9 May 1808) "Old Methodist Meeting House . . . useful and ornamental branches of Female Education." (*Norfolk Gazette and Public Ledger*, 14 Nov. 1808.)

"Mrs. FORE'S SCHOOL," *Richmond*, 1826.

Sampler, Elizabeth Davis Blackwell, 1826.

GARDNER, E., *Norfolk Borough*, 1766-74?

"Boarders . . . Embroidery, tent work, nuns do., queenstitch, Irish do. . . also point, Dresden lace work, catgut, &c. Shell work, wan work, and artificial flowers." (*Virginia Gazette*, 21 Mar. 1766.)

See E. Armston.

Embroidery, Elizabeth Boush, 1768-9.

GARDNER, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1801.

"DAY SCHOOL . . . Dresden, Embroidery, Point, Plain Work." (*Norfolk Herald*, 19 Mar. 1801)

"Marking." (*Ibid.*, 23 May 1801.)

GAUTIER, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1812.

"Embroidery . . . Tambouring, Needle Work, Point de Paris." (*Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger*, 30 Nov. 1812.)

GORLIER, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1806.

"Boarding-School . . . all sorts of Needle Work and Embroidery." (*Ibid.*, 3 Dec. 1806.)

GORLIER, Mrs., *Richmond*, 1812.

"School . . . all kind of Needle Work." (*Ibid.*, 14 Aug. 1812.)

"GREENWOOD SEMINARY," *Probably Hanover County*, 1817.

Sampler, Mary W. Tomlin, 1817.

HACKLEY, Mrs., *Germanna*, *Caroline County*, 1808.

"SCHOOL . . . improvement of the young Ladies." (*Virginia Herald*, 14 Dec. 1808.)

HAMLIN, Anne?, *West Point area, 1742.*

Silk on linen, Mary Johnson, 1742.

HANNAH, Elizabeth, *Alexandria, 1784-85.*

"School . . . instructed in writing and needlework." (*Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* 28 Oct. 1784, 3 Feb. 1785.)

HARRISON, Benjamin and Sarah, *Mecklenburg County, 1808.*

"BOARDING SCHOOL . . . Needle-Work." (*Petersburg Intelligencer*, 30 Sept. 1808.)

HAYDEN, Julia Benham, *Smithfield, Isle of Wight County, 1825-54.*

Julia Hayden, also known as Mrs. Samson White, opened a school in January 1826. She taught at Hayden Hall and Oak Grove Academy. (Segar Cofer Dashiell, *Smithfield, A Pictorial History*.)

HODGSON, M., *Richmond, 1788, 1792, 1795.*

"School . . . all kinds of needle work." (*Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, 17 Jan. 1788.)

"Fine works, tambour, and embroidery." (*Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 20 May 1795.)

"Fine work, Marking, Dresden, Tambour . . . Scrapwork." (*Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 20 May 1795.)

HOPKINSON, Miss Ann, *Fredericksburg, 1815.*

"School . . . plain and ornamental needlework, rug-work, fancy paperwork, and chenille, lamb's wool and silk embroidery." (*Virginia Herald*, 6 Sept. 1815.)

HOUGH, Amelia? *Waterford, Loudon County, 1811.*

(Bolton and Coe, *American Samplers*, Boston, 1921, 208.)

Sampler, Mary Ann Phillips, 1811.

HUDSON, Mrs., *Fredericksburg, 1788.*

"Boarding School . . . TAMBOUR, EMBROIDERY, and all kinds of NEEDLE-WORK." (*Virginia Herald*, 27 Mar. 1788.)

HUGHES, Frances T., *Richmond, 1809, 1815, 1817.*

"School . . . needle work." (*Enquirer*, 7 Feb. 1809.) "Academy . . . equal to those of the most respectable and flourishing Academies at the North . . . Needle-Work." (*Daily Compiler and Richmond Commercial Register*, 26 Sept. 1817, 29 Sept. 1817.)

"MRS. HURST'S SCHOOL," *Frederick County, 1802.*

Sampler, Peggy Castleman, 1802.

JEFFRIES, Mrs., *Richmond, 1799.*

"All kinds of needlework." (*Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 27 Aug. 1799.)

JETT, Mrs., *Culpeper County, 1813.*

"SCHOOL . . . Flowered Needle work . . ." (*Virginia Herald*, 16 Oct. 1813.)

JOHNSON, Mrs., *Norfolk, after 1750.*

"I was sent to a Mrs. Johnson . . . she taught me needlework and marking on the sampler." (Ring, "For Persons of Fortune Who Have Taste," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, 3, Nov. 1977, 1-23.)

JONES, Mrs., *Fredericksburg, 1789 (from Europe).*

"Boarding School . . . TAMBOUR, EMBROIDERY, plain and coloured NEEDLE WORK." (*Virginia Herald, and Fredericksburg Advertiser*, 10 Sept. 1789.)

LACOMBE, Mrs., *Norfolk, 1801.*

"Day School . . . Plain Work, Marking, Tambour, and Embroidery." (*Norfolk Herald*, 16 Apr. 1801.)

LAWRENCE, Mary?, *Waterford, Loudon County, 1811.*

(Bolton and Coe, *American Samplers*.)

Sampler, Amy Ann Phillips, 1811.

LAWRENCEVILLE ACADEMY/ Mrs. BOBBIT, *Brunswick County, 1820.*

"Together with Embroidery." (*Petersburg Republican*, 13 Oct. 1820.)

LEE, Mrs., *Alexandria*, 1797.

"Academy . . . Fancy Work." (*Alexandria Advertiser*, 28 Sept. 1797.)

LEFTWICH, Betsy, *Tazewell County*, 1815.

"Mount Prospect Female Academy . . . Needle-work, including Embroidery." (*Lynchburg Press*, 27 July 1815.)

LEPETIT, Lucy, *Richmond*, 1787.

"SCHOOL . . . needle work." (*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 25 July 1787.)

LORAIN, Mrs., *Bollingbrook, Dinwiddie County*, 1806.

"SCHOOL . . . embroidery, tambouring, and needle-work in general." (*Republican*, 11 Dec. 1806.)

LUNT, Betsey, *Alexandria*, 1798.

"School . . . Plain Needle Work, Fancy Work and Drawing." (*Times and Alexandria Advertiser*, 24 Feb. 1798.)

LYNCHBURG FEMALE ACADEMY/ THE PRYORS, *Lynchburg*, 1814.

"Needle work in its various branches, Embroidery, Pin Work." (*Lynchburg Press*, 15 Sept. 1814.) See Sarah Pryor.

MACDONALD, Mary, *Petersburg; Blandford, Dinwiddie County*, 1808, 1816.

"SCHOOL . . . Tamboring and different kinds of Needle Work." (*Petersburg Intelligencer*, 7 Oct. 1808.) "Mary McDonald and Mary Worsham . . . opening a school . . . plain sewing, marking, tambouring, and different kinds of needlework." (*Republican*, 16 Jan. 1816.)

MANCHESTER FEMALE ACADEMY, *Manchester*, 1809.

"Elegant Needle-Work . . . taught by Miss Chandler, who was brought up and educated by Mrs. O'Reilly." Mr. O'Reilly teaches English in this school. (*Enquirer*, 7 Feb., 27 Oct. 1809.)

MASON, Marian, *Alexandria*, 1803.

"Night school where . . . teaches needlework." (MESDA Research Files.)

MCDONALD, Mary, *Fredericksburg*, 1805.

"Boarding School . . . Tambouring with different kinds of Needle work." (*Virginia Herald*, 12 Mar. 1805.)

MERRITT, Eliza, *Brunswick County*, 1798.

"Different kinds of Needle work." (*Virginia Gazette, and Petersburg Intelligencer*, 16 Mar. 1798.)

MITCHELL, Miss, *Isle of Wight County*, 1815.

"School . . . Needle-Work." (*American Beacon and Commercial Diary*, 26 Oct. 1815.)

MOFFIT, Sarah, *Norfolk*, 1788 (from *Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Portsmouth*).

"SCHOOL MISTRESS . . . Plain work, marking, sprigging . . . true Dresden and Catgut . . . shading with silk or worsted; fire and window screens, table covers, chair bottoms, pocket books and samplers." (*Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal*, 23 July 1788.)

MONTAGUE, Lucy M., *Probably Hanover and Caroline counties*, 1835-48.

Also known as Miss Lucy Mary Quisenberry.

Sampler, Sarah E. Reynolds, 1848.

MORRIS, Richard, *Richmond*, 1784-85 (from *London*).

"EMBROIDERER, TAMBOUR WORKER, AND PATTERN DRAWER . . . to instruct YOUNG LADIES in the above-mentioned." (*Virginia Gazette*, 4 Sept. 1784 and *Virginia Gazette or the American Advertiser*, 10 Sept. 1785.)

MORRIS, Mrs./ STEVENSBURG ACADEMY, *Culpeper County*, 1808.

"Tambouring, and Embroidery." (*Virginia Herald*, 30 Nov. 1808.)

MORRIS, Mrs., *Staunton*, 1815.

"Late Miss Nixon . . . Needle-work." (*Virginia Argus*, 2 Dec. 1815.)



MOUNT PROSPECT FEMALE ACADEMY, *Tazewell County*, 1815.

See Betsy Leftwich.

MUIR, Rev. James, *Alexandria*, 1790-91.

"Opening an Academy . . . a person shall be engaged capable of teaching the branches peculiar to the Female Education." (*Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiser*, 5 Aug. 1790, 10 Mar. 1791.)

Silk on linen, Mary Muir?, 1817.

NEILL, Mrs., *Williamsburg*, 1776-77 (from Gloucester County).

"Boarding School . . . Tambours, and other kinds of Needle Work." (*Virginia Gazette*, 20 Dec. 1776 and 4 July 1777.)

NORRIS, Ann, *King George County*, 1824.

Sampler, Martha Smith, 1824.

OAK GROVE ACADEMY, *Smithfield, Isle of Wight County*, 1836-54.

See Julia Hayden.

O'REILLY, Mrs., *Alexandria*, 1804-5 (from Baltimore).

"Embroidery in chenilles, gold, silver . . . comprising figures, historical and ornamental, landscapes, cloth work in fruit, birds." *Baltimore Evening Post: Mercantile Daily Advertiser*, 4 Apr. 1805.) "sudden illness has prevented the commencement of Mrs. O'Reilly's ladies Academy . . . where will be taught maps wrought in silks." (*Alexandria Advertiser and Commercial Intelligence*, 20 Nov. 1804 and *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, 1 Jan. 1805.)

See Mrs. O'Reilly in Richmond and Petersburg.

O'REILLY, Mrs., *Richmond*, 1805.

"ACADEMY . . . embroidery in chenilles, gold, silver . . . maps, wrought in silks . . . cloth work . . . filagree . . . shell work . . . artificial flowers, tambour and dresden, cross stitch, tent stitch, tapestry." (*Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 20 Nov. 1805.)

See O'Reilly in Alexandria and Petersburg, Manchester Female Academy, and Miss Chandler.

O'REILLY, Mrs., Petersburg, 1813, 1818.

"Academy . . . elegant and useful embroidery. viz: Embroidery in cheniles, gold, silver . . . artificial flowers, tambouring." (*Petersburg Intelligencer*, 4 Feb. 1814.) "School . . . useful, elegant and ornamental Needle work." (*Petersburg Republican*, 7 Aug. 1818.)

See O'Reilly in Richmond and Alexandria.

ORGAN, Mrs. Pamela, Petersburg, 1817.

"SCHOOL MISTRESS . . . Plain and Fancy Needlework." (*Petersburg Republican*, 7 Aug. 1818.)

OWENS, Mr. and Mrs., *Lynchburg*, n. d.

"There she studies . . . and other lady-like arts." (Amelia H. Scott, *Tales of the Terrells*, and Louise A. Blunt, *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg*.)

PAGAUD, Mrs. Alice, *Norfolk*, 1806-20.

"Tutoress . . . Needle Work of every description." (*Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger*, 1 Aug. 1806.) "Seminary for Children of both sexes . . . Needlework." (*American Beacon and Commercial Diary*, 27 Dec. 1815.) "School, Sampler Work . . . plain & fancy Needle-work . . . Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." (*American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, 6 Oct. 1819.) "Mr. & Mrs. SWINDELLS . . . with Mrs. ALICE PAGAUD . . . BOARDING and DAY SCHOOL . . . Plain and Fancy Needle-Work . . . Sampler Work . . . Deeming it necessary that females should be familiarly acquainted with the use of the Needle in all the above variety of work, a portion of every day will be devoted to this part of their improvement." (*Ibid.*, 14 Dec. 1819.) "*Boarding and Day School*." (*Ibid.*, 27 Apr. 1820.)

PERDUE, Mildred C., Petersburg, 1819.

"SCHOOL . . . plain and embroidery works." (*Petersburg Republican*, 29 Jan. 1819.)

PETERSBURG FEMALE ACADEMY, *Petersburg*, 1819-20.

"[Jonathan Smith] engaged Miss A. BOSWORTH . . . various branches of education usually taught in female seminaries . . . plain and ornamental needle work." (Ibid., 24 Dec. 1819.)

"[Jonathan Smith] engaged MISS ANNE CLARK." (Ibid., 29 Dec. 1820.)

PEERCE, Mrs., *Charles Town*, 1813.

"Needle work." (MESDA Research Files.)

PETRICOLAS, Mrs., *Richmond*, 1805.

"Artificial flowers and Plain sewing." (MESDA Research Files.)

PIERCE, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1796.

"Embroidery School . . . EMBROIDERY and TAMBOUR . . . DRESDEN." (*Norfolk Herald*, 30 June 1796.)

"PINEGROVE SCHOOL?" *Charles City County*, 1809.

(Bolton and Coe, *American Samplers*.)

Sampler, Tullania Evans, 1809.

PRYOR, Sarah (with husband John), *Lynchburg*, 1814.

"School . . . needle work embroidery &c." (*Lynchburg Press*, 5 May 1814.)

See Lynchburg Female Academy.

QUISENBERRY, Miss Lucy Mary, *Probably Caroline and Hanover counties*, 1835.

Also known as Lucy M. Montague.

Sampler, Mildred B. Chewning, 1835.

RAMSAY, N., *Fairfax County*, 1767.

"Binding Cloe Stephens, an orphan age 13 to N[omy] Ramsay to learn needle work and Mantue Making." (Fairfax Parish and Alexandria City, *Vestry Book 1765-1843*, Fairfax County.)

RENAULT, Julia, *Richmond*, 1815.

"School . . . Plain Sewing." (*Virginia Argus*, 5 Aug. 1815.)

REYNOLDS, Mrs. John (Hannah), *Portsmouth*, 1807.

"Plain Sewing and Sampler Work; Working of Muslin . . . Tambour, Embroidery, and Point Work." (*Norfolk Gazette and Public Ledger*, 9 Jan. 1807.)

RICARDO, Mrs. R. J., *Norfolk*, 1811 (from Charleston).

"SCHOOL . . . Embroidery, Drawing . . . all kinds of Needle Work." (*Norfolk Herald*, 8 May 1811.)

RICHMOND ACADEMY/ ANNA BYRD, *Richmond*, 1807.

"Needle-work." (*Enquirer*, 29 Jan. 1807.)

RILEY, Miss, *Loudon County*, 1818.

Miss Ellzey opens school for young ladies, with assistance of Miss Riley "a young lady of very polished manners" in needlework. (MESDA Research Files.)

ROBBINS, Miss, *Richmond*, 1802 (from London).

"Boarding School . . . with every useful and polite accomplishment. Particular care will be paid to their morals." (*Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 24 July 1802.)

RUDD, Mrs. Hannah, *Dinwiddie County*, 1819-20.

"Female School . . . needle work, and plain and ornamental." (*Petersburg Republican*, 30 Nov. 1819 and *Petersburg Intelligencer*, 25 Jan. 1820.)

RUSSELL, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1820 (from Dublin).

"Engaged to attend Mrs. Barron's Seminary . . . Rug and Worsted Work . . . Embroidery on Satin and Muslin, on a plan entirely new, not before introduced into this Borough." (*Norfolk Herald*, 23 Oct. 1820, and *American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, 24 Oct. 1820.) "Mrs. Barron and Mrs. Russell having united their Establishments . . . Worsted and Rug Work, Embroidery, Fancy Work . . . Sampler Work and Plain Sewing." (Ibid., 28 Dec. 1820.)

RYAN, Frances, *Fredericksburg*, 1801.

"School . . . Plain Sewing Work and Marking." (*Courier*, 3 Nov. 1801.)

SCHWARTZ, Miss Frederica, *Martinsburg*, 1834.

"Will open a sewing school . . . teach all kinds of Plain and Ornamental Sewing, Floss and Lace Work." (*Martinsburg Gazette*, 27 Feb. 1834.)

SEWELL, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1818-19.

"Useful and ornamental branches of learning . . . Needlework." (*American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, 29 Dec. 1818) "Needlework." (*Ibid.*, 8 Jan. 1819.)

SIMSON, Mrs., *Alexandria*, 1793 (from *New York, Charleston, and Philadelphia*).

"SCHOOL . . . teaching all kind of needlework in silk and worsted, crowning darning and plain work, Tambour and embroidery . . . she designs the work and executes the drawing." (*Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, 24 July 1793.)

125. Simson, Mrs. Richmond, 1794 (from *Philadelphia*)

"BOARDING SCHOOL . . . all kinds of needle work . . . shading and taste in the arrangement of patterns." (*Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 17 Dec. 1794.)

See Mrs. Simson in *Alexandria*.

SIMSON, Mrs., *Fredericksburg*, 1795 (from *Philadelphia*).

"BOARDING SCHOOL . . . al kinds of needle work . . . shading and taste in the arrangement of patterns." (*Virginia Herald & Fredericksburg Advertiser*, 8 May 1795.)

See Simson in *Alexandria*.

ST. CATHERINE'S SCHOOL, *Richmond*, nineteenth century.

See Miss Jennie Ellett.

SKETCHLEY, Mr. and Mrs., *Alexandria*, 1811 (from *New York*).

"Plain and ornamental needle work." (*Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 1811.)

SKETCHLEY, Mr. and Mrs., *Belfield, Greenville County*, 1811 (from *Warrenton, N. C.*).

"Academy . . . Young Ladies . . . to be instructed in Plain Sewing, Marking, Muslin Work, Embroidery, Print and Point Work." (*Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger*, 18 Oct. 1811.)

SMITH, Christian, *Alexandria*, 1786.

"School . . . may be taught needle work." (*Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, 23 Mar. 1786.)

SMITH, Christian, *Alexandria*, 1786 (from *Charleston*).

"School . . . may be taught needle work." (*Virginia Journal, and Alexandria Advertiser*, 23 Mar. 1786.)

SMITH, Maria, *Winchester*, 1788.

"SCHOOL . . . TAMBOUR, DRESDEN EMBROIDERING." (*Virginia Centinel; or, the Winchester Mercury*, 28 May 1788.)

SMITH, Mary Ann, *Norfolk, Gosport*, 1817.

"School . . . Plain and Ornamental Needle-Work." (*American Beacon and Commercial Diary*, 27 Oct. 1817.)

STEVENSBURG ACADEMY, *Culpeper County*, 1808.

See Mrs. Morris.

STILLMAN, Miss Mary, *Southampton County, Isle of Wight County*, nineteenth century?

(Dashiell, *Smithfield, A Pictorial History*.)

STURDIVANT, Frances W., *Petersburg*, 1797.

"SCHOOL . . . TAMBOUR and EMBROIDERY . . . furnished with any kind of drawing on silk, muslin, or any kind of stuffs, agreeable to any pattern they chuse." (*Virginia Gazette & Petersburg Intelligencer*, 21 Feb. 1797.)

SWINDELLS, Mr. and Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1819.

"With Mrs. ALICE PAQUAD . . . BOARDING and DAY SCHOOL . . . Plain and Fancy Needle Work." (*American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, 14 Dec. 1819.)

SWINDELLS, James H., *Norfolk*, 1820.

"FEMALE SEMINARY engagement with a Young Lady in New York . . . *Fillagree, Embroidery . . . useful and ornamental Needle Work.*" (Ibid., 20 Apr. 1820.)

"C. M. T. TEACHER," *Wheeling, West Virginia*, 1831.

Sampler, Ellen Caulifield, 1831.

TARPLEY, Eliza C., *Petersburg*, 1805.

"SCHOOL . . . Needlework in all its various branches." (*Republican*, 2 Apr. 1805.)

TENNENT, Mrs., *Norfolk*, 1796.

"To enable her to teach from the most approved methods, as in Britain, she has procured . . . a large and general Assortment of STAMPS, of the most fashionable patterns." (*Norfolk Herald*, 21 July 1796.)

TENNENT, Mrs., *Alexandria*, 1795.

"School . . . embroidery, tambouring, open and needle work, flowering, sewing, marking." (*Alexandria Advertiser*, 28 Sept. 1797.)

TERREL, Miss/ MOUNT AIRY SCHOOL HOUSE, *Caroline County*, 1811.

"FEMALE EDUCATION . . . under the direction of Miss Terrel," (*Virginia Argus*, 21 Oct. 1811.)

TOMPKINS, Mary Elliot? *Essex County*, 1823-25.

Sampler, Martha Ann Waring, 1823-25.

TURNER, Nancy I., *Bedford County*, 1814.

"FEMALE EDUCATION." (*Lynchburg Press*, 19 May 1814.)

VICTOR, Maria, *Lynchburg*, 1815.

"Needle work . . . school." (Ibid., 9 Mar. 1815.)

WADE, Mrs., *Port Royal*, 1817 (*from Maryland*).

"Academy . . . Plain and Ornamental Needle-Work and Embroidery." (*Virginia Herald*, 27 Sept. 1817.)

WALKER, Mrs., *Williamsburg*, 1752 (*from London*).

"All kinds of Needle Work." (*Virginia Gazette*, 17 Nov. 1752.)

WALKER, Mrs., *Fredericksburg*, 1794.

"BOARDING SCHOOL . . . Embroidery and Tambouring . . . Whitework, Diaper and Muslin Darning." (*Virginia Herald, and Fredericksburg Advertiser*, 16 Oct. 1794.)

WALLACE, Eliza, *Norfolk*, 1796-97.

"SCHOOL . . . *Tambouring and Sattin Work* . . . All kinds of Lady's Fancy Patterns drawn fit for Working." (*Norfolk Herald & Public Advertiser*, 28 Aug. 1797.)

WHITE, Mrs. Samson, *Smithfield*, 1826-54.

See Julia Benham Hayden.

WILBER, Miss Mary, *Alexandria*, 1811.

"School . . . Plain & Ornamental Needle-Work, Embroidery, Netting." (*Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 9 Mar. 1811.)

WINTER, Mr. and Mrs., *Alexandria*, 1820.

"School . . . Young MISSES will . . . become complete sempstresses." (*Alexandria Herald*, 6 Sept. 1820.)

WLERICH, Mrs., *Lynchburg*, 1820.

"BOARDING & DAY SCHOOL . . . Embroidery . . . Muslin work . . . plain work with marking." (*Lynchburg Press*, 7 Apr. 1820.)

WOODSON, Mrs., *Nottoway County*, 1802.

"Taught by Mrs. Woodson."

Sampler, Mary Elizabeth Portress Doswell, 1802.



WORSHAM, Mary, *Blandford*, 1816.

"Mary McDonald and Mary Worsham . . . opening a school . . . plain sewing, marking, tambouring, and different kinds of needle work." (*Republican*, 16 Jan. 1816.)

WRIGHT, Miss, *Fredericksburg*, 1772 (*from England*).

"Boarding School . . . DRESDEN, TENTWORK, SHELLWORK, and all kinds NEEDLEWORK." (*Virginia Gazette*, 27 Feb. 1772.)

*Norfolk*, 1773 (*from the West Indies and Newport?*).

"Mrs. HUGHES's Daughter proposes teaching young Ladies TAMBOUR WORK." (*Ibid*, 16 Dec. 1773 and Ring, *Let Virtue Be a Guide to Thee*.)

*Richmond*, 1776 (*from Norfolk*).

"Mrs. Wheatley's daughter also proposes opening a BOARDING SCHOOL . . . different kinds of needle work; the tambour worked and taught." (*Virginia Gazette*, 20 Jan. 1776.)

*Richmond*, 1785.

"A YOUNG LADY . . . instructing . . . NEEDLEWORK." (*Virginia Gazette, or the American Advertiser*, 12 November 1785.)

*Richmond area*, 1786.

"A BOARDING SCHOOL . . . The Girls on Saturdays will be taught plain Needle Work, and the Duties incumbent on Mistresses of Families. No other Difference will be made between the Education of Boys and Girls, except the Girls will not be taught Mathematics. . . . Samuel Coleman." (*Virginia Independent Chronicle*, 18 Oct. 1786.)

*Richmond*, 1801.

"BOARDING SCHOOL FOR Young Ladies . . . by a Lady, the wife of a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church . . . Plain Work, Embroidery, Dresden and every Fashionable accomplishment of this description . . . every possible attention will be paid to the morals of their children." (*Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser*, 19 May 1801.)

*Culpeper County*, 1808

"Female Academy . . . [Tom Elliott] shall open . . . useful and ornamental Needle work." (*Virginia Herald*, 14 Dec. 1808.)

*Portsmouth*, 1837.

"For her affectionate teacher."

Sampler, E. Lee, 1837.

## APPENDIX 3

### SELECTED VERSES FROM VIRGINIA SCHOOLGIRL EMBROIDERIES

On Death.

*Verse 1. West Point area, 1742:*

And I heard a voice from heaven saying  
unto me write, blessed are the dead which  
die in the Lord from henceforth;  
Yea saith the spirit that they may  
rest from their labours & their works do follow them.

— Revelations 14:13

*Verse 2. Probably Stafford County, 1793:*

Here Innocence and Beauty lie whose Breath  
Was snatch'd by early, not untimely Death.  
Hence did they go just as they did begin  
Sorrow to know, before they knew to sin.  
Death, that does Sin and Sorrow thus prevent,  
Is the next Blessing to a Life well Spent.

*Verse 3. Probably Stafford County, 1793:*

Her Name shall live and yield a sweet Perfume,  
And (tho in Dust) her Memory shall bloom.  
Tho' I deplore my Loss and wish it Less,  
Yet will I kiss the Rod and acquiesce.

*Verse 4. Shenandoah County, 1802:*

And am I born to die, to lay this body down  
And must my trembling spirit fly into a world  
unknown

*Verse 5. Richmond?, 1812:*

One evening in December last, the six & twentieth day,  
the people that with joyful taste, did go to see a play.  
While in the midst of joy & mirth, the house it caught on fire.  
Hundreds enveloped in flames, and many did expire.  
May theatres be done away, from off this earthly shore.  
The houses put to better use, and plays be seen no more.

*Verse 6. Norfolk, 1812, 1825:*

Disease and pain invade our health  
And find an easy prey  
And Oft when least expected, wealth  
Takes Wings and flies away  
The gourds from which we look for fruit  
Produce us only pain,  
A worm unseen attacks the root  
And all our hopes are vain.

*Verse 7. Prince William County, 1815:*

Before the turf or tomb  
Covers me from mortal eye  
Spirit of instruction come  
Make me learn that I must die.

*Verse 8. Essex County, 1823-25:*

Let sorrow for her early doom  
No more in silence sigh  
For hope which points beyond the tomb  
Bids every tear be dry.

*Verse 9. Farmville, 1824:*

Attend poor mortal grief no more  
No more lament thy dear departed friends.  
Their souls are wafted to a happier shore.  
Where every sorrow ends.

*Verse 10. Augusta County, 1828:*

A Tear  
The only gift I can bestow  
On a fond brothers love  
Torn from each others arms below  
May we both meet above  
It is our fate let us submit  
No helping hand is near  
Alas all help comes now too late  
Adieu accept a tear.

*Verse 11. Wheeling, 1831.*

This work in hand my friends may have  
When I am dead and in my grave  
And when my work each time you see  
With fond remembrance think of me.

*Verse 12. Richmond County, c. 1825.*

Teach me to live that I may dread  
The grave as little as my bed  
Teach me to live that so I may  
Rise glorious at the awful day.

*Verse 13. Middlesex County, 1836:*

May all those  
Whose names are recorded here  
Their dear Redeemer love  
And may they all to him be near  
And dwell in Heaven above.

*Verse 14. Clark County, 1840-50:*

Their is my house and portion fair.  
My treasure and heart are there.  
and my abiding home  
For me my elder brethren stay  
and angels beckon me away  
and Jesus bids me come.

*Verse 15. Middlesex County, 1844:*

A heap of dust  
Alone remains of thee  
Tis all thou art  
And all that we shall be.

On Youth.

*Verse 16. Amelia County, 1806:*

Fairest flower all flowers excelling  
Which in Miltons page we see  
Flowers of eves imbowerd dwelling  
Are my fair one types of thee.  
Mark my Polly how the roses  
Emulate thy damask cheek  
How the bud its sweets discloses  
Buds thy opening [see] bloom bespeak.  
Lillies are by Plain direction  
Emblems of a double kind  
Emblems of thy fair complexion  
Emblems of thy fairer mind.  
But dear girl both flowers and beauty  
Blossom fade and die away  
Then pursue good sense and duty  
Evergreens which neer decay!

*Verse 17. Hanover County, 1819:*

When snow descends and robes the Fields  
In Winters bright array  
Touched by the Sun the Lustre fades  
And weeps itself away.

When Spring appears when Violets blow  
And shed a rich Perfume  
How soon the Fragrance breathes its last  
How short lived is the Bloom.

Such are the Charms that flush the Cheek  
And Sparkle in the Eye  
So from the lovely finish & form  
The transient Graces fly.

To the Seasons as they roll  
Their attestation bring  
They warn the Fair ev[r]y Round  
Confirms the Truth I sing.

*Verse 18. Essex County, 1823-25:*

When we devote our youth to god  
Tis pleasing in his eyes  
A flower that's offer'd in the bud  
Is no vain sacrifice.

*Verse 19. Richmond, 1828:*

O who will buy my roses  
They are fading like my youth  
But never like these posies shall  
Wither Flora's truth.

*Verse 20. Chesterfield County, 1833:*

On Youth

Fragrant the Rose is, but it fades in time,  
The Violet sweet, but quickly past the prime,  
White lillies hang their heads, and soon decay  
And whiter snow in minutes melts away  
Such and [so] withering [are our early joys]  
Which Time and [sickness] [s]peedily destroy.

*Verse 21. Spotsylvania County, 1834:*

Remember thy Creator in the days of thy Youth.

On Time.

*Verse 22. Amelia County, 1806:*

Improvement of time  
Defer not till tomorrow to  
Be wise . . . never rise  
Tomorrows seen to thee may.

On Home and Family.

*Verse 23. Isle of Wight County, 1761:*

Sellah Fulgham is my name  
Virginia is my nation  
the [Isle of] White my dwelling place  
and Christ my salvation.



*Verse 24. Norfolk, c. 1828:*

The daughter who loves her home  
will take a lively interest in all  
its concerns and be solicitous to  
promote the happiness of the little  
circle of which she forms a part.

On Duty.

*Verse 25. Norfolk, c. 1828:*

We should prefer our duty to our pleasure.

On Truth.

*Verse 26. Norfolk, 1828:*

Truth is the brightest ornament of youth.

On Virtue.

*Verse 27. Fairfax County, 1776:*

Ode to Virtue

Virtue soft Balm of every Woe  
of every [grief] the cure  
Tis thou alone that canst best bestow  
[Pl]ea[sur]es unmi[xe]d [and] pure.

*Verse 28. Williamsburg, 1791.*

Oh Heavenly Virtue Thine A Sacred Flame  
And Still My Soul Pays Homage To Thy Name.

*Verse 29. Richmond, early nineteenth century:*

On Virtue

Virtue's the chiefest Beauty of the Mind  
The noblest Ornament of human Kind  
Virtue's our Safe guard and our guiding Star  
That stirs up Reason when our Senses err.

*Verse 30. Isle of Wight County, 1829:*

I sigh not for beauty nor languish for wealth  
But grant me, kind providence virtue and health  
Then richer than kings and as happy as they  
My days shall pass sweetly and swiftly away.

On Nature.

*Verse 31. Harrisonburg, 1834:*

Near Avons banks a cultured spot.  
With many a tuft of flow'rs adorned  
Was once an aged shepherd's cott.  
Who scenes of greater splendour [sc]orned.

*Verse 32. Richmond, 1835:*

To A Redbreast  
Little bird with bosom red  
Welcome to my humble shed  
Daily near my table steal  
While I pick[?] my scanty meal  
Doubt not little though there be  
But Ill cast a crust to thee  
Well rewarded if I [s]py  
Pleasure in the glanoring eye

see thee when thoust eat thy full  
Plume thy breast and wipe thy bill  
Come my feathered friend again  
Well thou knowest the broken Pane.

On Friendship.

*Verse 33. Amelia County, 1806:*

When fortune sits smiling  
What crouds will appear  
Their friendship to offer  
And wishes sincere.  
Change but the prospect  
And point out distress  
No longer to court you  
They eagerly press.

*Verse 34. Loudoun County, 1812:*

O friendship thou [missing] this weaver of life  
Kind creator of each and composer of strife  
With little [missing] wealth and power  
But empty delusions the loss of an hour  
How much to be prized and esteemed is a friend  
On whom we may always with safety depend  
Our joys when extended will always increase  
And griefs when divided are hushed into peace.

On Idleness.

*Verse 35. Spotsylvania County, 1834:*

Idleness brings forward and nourishes  
many bad things.

On Love.

*Verse 36. Prob. Rockbridge County, c. 1802:*

Palemon and Lavinia  
Then throw that shameful pittance from thy hand  
But ill applied to such a rugged task:  
The field, the master, all my fair, are thine,  
Hear ceas'd the youth, yet still his speaking eyes  
Express'd the sacred triumph of his soul  
Nor waited he reply, won by the charms  
Of goodness irresistible, and all  
In sweet disorder lost — she blush'd content.  
— James Thomson, *The Seasons*, from lines 177-310.

On Religious and Moralistic Thoughts.

*Verse 37. West Point area, 1742:*

Favour is deceitful and beauty is vaine  
But a woman that feareth the Lord she shall be praised.  
Give her of the fruit of her hands and let her own  
works praise her in the gates.

— Proverbs 31:30-31

*Verse 38. Williamsburg, c. 1790:*

While Youthful Splendour Lightened In My Eyes  
Clear As The Smiling Glory Of The Skies  
Sprinkled With Radiant Gold A Purple Hue  
My Wings Displayed My Robe Celestial Blue  
More White Than Flax My Curling Tresses Flowed  
My Dimpled Cheeks With Rosy Beauty Glowed.

*Verse 39. Richmond, 1800:*

No flocks that range the vally free  
To slaughter I condemn  
Taught by the power that pities me  
I learn to pity them  
Then turn to night and Freely share  
What er my cell bestows  
My rushy couch and frugal fare  
My blessings and repose.

*Verse 40. Norfolk, early nineteenth century:*

Remember that the faithful dove  
when biden from the ark to Rome  
was guidede by a God of love  
and the peaceful olive home.

*Verse 41. Nansemond County, 1808; Alexandria, 1809:*

Do you my Fair Endeavour to possess  
An elegance of mind/ As well as dress  
Be that your ornament and know to please  
By graceful natures unaffected ease.

*Verse 42. Richmond, 1812 or 1817:*

There cometh a woman of Samaria,  
to draw water: Jesus saith unto her,  
'Give me a drink.' Then saith the woman  
of Samaria unto him, How is it that thou,  
being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a  
woman of Samaria? for the Jews have no dealings with the  
Samaritans.

— John 4:7, 9

*Verse 43. Nelson County, 1813:*

*Prince William County, 1815; Shepberdstown, 1822;*

*Isle of Wigbt County, 1834:*

Jesus permit thy gracious name to stand  
As the first efforts of an infants hand  
And while her fingers o'er this canvaas move  
Engage her tender heart to seek thy love.  
With thy dear children let her share a part  
And write thy name thyself upon her heart.

— *English Notes and Queries*, 1871,

says that this was composed by the  
Rev. John Newton for the sampler of his niece,  
Miss Elizabeth Catlett.

*Verse 44. Northampton County, 1817:*

If I am right thy grace impart  
Still in the right to stay  
If I am wrong O teach my heart  
To find that better way.

*Verse 45. Prob. Hanover County, 1817 and prob. Caroline County, 1835:*

Religion is the chief concern  
Of mortals here below  
May I its great importance learn  
Its sovereign virtue known  
Religion should our thoughts engage  
Amidst our youthful bloom,  
Twill fit us for declining age  
And for the awful tomb.  
More needful this, than glittering wealth,  
Or aught the world bestows,  
Not reputation, food, or health,  
Can give us such repose.

*Verse 46. Alexandria, 1818:*

Religion

Tis religion that can give  
Sweetest pleasures while we live  
Tis religion must supply  
Solid comfort when we die  
After death its joys will be  
Lasting as eternity  
Let me then make God my friend  
And on all his ways attend.

*Verse 47. Alexandria, 1818:*

How cheerful along the gay mead  
The daisy and cowslip appear  
The flocks as they carelessly feed  
Rejoice in the spring of the year  
The lord who such wonders could raise  
And still can destroy with a nod  
My lips shall incessantly praise  
My soul shall be wrapp[ed] in my god.

*Verse 48. Lexington, 1819; Loudoun County, 1828; Middlesex County, 1836:*

Teach me to feel another's woe  
To hide the fault I see  
That mercy I to others show  
That mercy show to me.

While some in Folly's Pleasures roll,  
And seek the joys that hurt the soul,  
Be mine that silent calm repast  
A Peaceful conscience to the last.  
Lord when our raptured thous[ands]  
survey Creations beauties oer  
All nature forms to teach thy peace  
And bid our souls adore.  
— Alexander Pope, "The Universal Prayer"

*Verse 49. Norfolk, c. 1820:*

Unshaken as the sacred hill;  
And firm as mountains be:  
Firm as a rock the soul shall rest  
That leans, O Lord, on thee.  
Engrav'd as in eternal brass,



The mighty promise shines:  
Nor can the pow'rs of darkness raze  
Those everlasting lines.

*Verse 50. King George County, 1824:*

O child most dear incline thine ear  
And hearken to God's voice.  
His counsel take for he doth make  
His children to rejoice.

*Verse 51. Richmond, 1826:*

Oft pining cares in rich brocades are drest  
And daimons glitter on an anxious breast.

*Verse 52. Richmond, 1828:*

Agur's Prayer  
Remove far from me vanity and lies  
give me neither poverty nor riches  
feed me with food convenient for me  
lest I be full and deny thee  
and say who is the Lord  
Or lest I be poor and steal and take  
the name of my God in vain.

*Verse 53. Norfolk, 1828:*

Retired from the bustle of life,  
In a neat little cot of my own;  
A stranger to trouble and strife,  
With a friend all my wishes to crown;  
How calm and contented I'd live:  
Ah! sweetly my moments would flow —  
The best of stores would I give  
To relieve the poor suffer — er's wo.

*Verse 54 Lexington, 1833:*

Twill save us from a thousand snares  
To mind religion young  
It will preserve our following years  
And make our virtue strong.

*Verse 55. Portsmouth, 1837:*

The Golden mean  
He that holds fast the golden mean  
And lives contentedly between  
The little and the great  
Feels not the wants that pinch the poor  
Nor plaques that haunt the rich mans door  
Imbitt'ring all his taste  
The tallest pines feel most the pow'r  
Of wint'ry blast, the loftiest tow'r  
Falls heaviest to the ground  
The bolts that spare the mountain side  
His cloud capt eminence divide  
And spread the ruin round  
Present blessing undervalue[e].

— From Horace's Ode, "Moderation"

*Verse 56. New Market, 1844:*

He that hath made his refuge  
God shall find a most secure abode  
Shall walk all day beneath his shade  
And there at night shall  
rest his head.

*Verse 57. New Market, 1844:*

Thou sweet gliding kedron by thy silver streams  
Our Saviour at midnight when moonlights pale beam  
Shone bright on the waters would frequently stray  
And lost in thy murmurs the toils of the day  
O garden of Olivet thou dear honourd spot  
The fame of thy wonder shall neer be forgot  
The theme most transporting to seraphs above  
The triumph of sorrow the triumph of love.

*Verse 58. Prob. Orange County, 1848:*

Let deep repentance faith, and love  
Be join'd with godly fear;  
And all my conversation prove  
My heart to be sincere  
Let lively hope my soul inspire  
Let warm affections rise;  
And may I wait with strong desire  
to mount above the skies.

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*Kim Smith is the Assistant Curator of Textiles in the Department of Collections at Colonial Williamsburg and a former MESDA Summer Institute student.*

## FOOTNOTES

1. Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Sally Wister's Journal* (Philadelphia, 1902), 159.
2. Anne Blair to Mrs. Mary Braxton, 21 Aug. 1769, Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, Whiting Papers, 39.1 B58, Manuscripts and Rare Books Dept., Earl Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. A "tucker" was a form of neck handkerchief.
3. Conversation with Arlington House, July 1989. Martha's sampler is in the collection of Arlington House, the Robert E. Lee Memorial, National Park Service. Martha worked her family record sampler in silk cross and Algerian eye stitches on a linen ground while she was living at Chatham in Stafford County. It measures 22" X 21" and records the marriage of her parents and births and deaths of siblings. For illustrations of the sampler, see Candace Wheeler, *The Development of Embroidery in America* (New York, 1921), 52a, and Gloria Seaman Allen, *Family Record: Genealogical Watercolors and Needlework* (Washington, D. C., 1989), 90.
4. "Queries," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 4 (1897): 467-8.
5. Paula B. Richter, Registrar, Essex Institute, to the author, 21 July 1989.
6. At the present time I have located 190 samplers and needlework pictures that appear to be Virginia work. Of the 190 embroideries, I am confident that 127 are Virginia pieces because of the Virginia names and locations that are worked on them, genealogical research, and their identical relationship to other proven Virginia pieces. Based on their formats, styles, techniques, or oral histories, the other 63 embroideries appear to be Virginia work, but more research is still needed to document them definitely.
7. I hope that this introduction to Virginia needlework will arouse the curiosity of other scholars and provide a basis for future research and identification of Virginia embroideries.
8. Betty Ring, *Let Virtue Be a Guide to Thee: Needlework in the Education of Rhode Island Women, 1730-1830* (Providence, R. I., 1983), 24-5.
9. *Ibid.*, 23-4.
10. *Ibid.*, 31-2.
11. *Ibid.*, 36-7.
12. Edwin Morris Betts and James Adam Bear, Jr, eds., *The Family Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, (Charlottesville, Va., 1986), 35.
13. William K. Bottorff and Roy C. Flannagan, eds., "The Diary of Frances Baylor Hill of 'Hillsborough,'" *Early American Literature Newsletter*, special ed., 2 (Winter 1967): 22-3, 25, 30, 53.
14. *Norfolk Gazette and Public Ledger*, 19 Aug. 1807, information courtesy Patricia A. Gibbs.
15. For further information about girls' education, see Ring, *Let Virtue Be a Guide to Thee*, and Susan Swan, *Plain and Fancy: American Women and Their Needlework* (New York, 1977).
16. Lecture by Betty Ring, Antiques Forum, Williamsburg, Va., Feb. 1985.
17. Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette*, 17 Nov. 1752; Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 20 Dec. 1776.
18. Ring, *Let Virtue Be a Guide to Thee*, 36-7.
19. In April 1990 Betty Ring described what is general belief: "There are no recognizable groups of eighteenth-century embroideries from the South, and no more than six groups from the nineteenth century, with four of those from Maryland." "Documents of Education: Samplers and Silk Embroideries from the Collection of Betty Ring," exhibit label, Museum of American Folk Art, New York, 21 April-24 June 1990. The Virginia samplers I have grouped are in addition to those groups she has identified. See also the catalog that accompanied the exhibit, Betty Ring, *American Needlework Treasures. Samplers and Silk Embroideries from the Collection of Betty Ring* (New York, 1987), 50.

20. This attention to furniture construction techniques includes the use of dust boards, composite block feet, and finished backsides. For further discussion of Virginia furniture, see Wallace B. Gusler, *Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, 1710-1790* (Richmond, Va., 1979).
21. For good descriptions and illustrations of needlework stitches, see Pamela Clabburn, *The Needleworker's Dictionary*, (London, 1976).
22. It should be mentioned here that the square format with decorative borders on all four sides was popular throughout England and the United States in the nineteenth century. Of special note is the appearance in many Virginia pieces of birds and half-open house windows.
23. Mary did not include where she lived on her sampler. However, family tradition attributes it to the West Point area, and the birth of a Mary Johnson in 1730 has been located in the register of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County.
24. Clabburn, *Needleworker's Dictionary*, 35. It is a seven-step stitch achieved by taking the needle back to the first hole after making the first diagonal stitch, putting the needle in at the center and out at the bottom right, and then taking the second diagonal. To complete the cross stitch on the back, the needle must be brought out at the bottom right, which positions the needle for the next cross stitch. I have been told that it takes an experienced needleworker ten minutes to work just one letter using this stitch. The seven-step cross stitch is seen consistently in Virginia needlework.
25. Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnston Coe, *American Samplers* (Boston, 1921), 53, 332. I am particularly interested in locating this piece of needlework. Any information would be most welcome.
26. Clabburn, *The Needleworker's Dictionary*, 56.
27. Frances Norton Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795* (Richmond, Va., 1937), 258.
28. *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, 6 Mar. 1810.
29. For further discussion on changes in family life reflected in needlework, see Allen, *Family Record*.
30. For further information on the Cofer and Delk samplers, see Charlotte M. Emans, "An Analysis of The Elizabeth M. Cofer Sampler Dated 1834," research report, Department of Collections, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Va.
31. There was at least one copy of James Thomson's *The Seasons* in Williamsburg in 1752, three by 1764, and it was advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* during the years 1768-76. Information courtesy of John Ingram.
32. For further information on Elizabeth's needlework picture, see Betty Ring, "For Persons of Fortune Who Have Taste: An Elegant Schoolgirl Embroidery," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 3 (Nov. 1977): 1-23.
33. *Virginia Gazette*, (Purdie), 21 Mar. 1766.
34. Ring, "For Persons of Fortune Who Have Taste," 2.
35. For further discussion of needlework patterns, see Margaret Swain, *Figures on Fabric: Embroidery Design Sources and Their Application* (London, 1980).
36. *Norfolk Herald*, 21 July 1796.
37. *Richmond Virginia Independent Chronicle* (Richmond, Va.), 18 Oct. 1786.
38. For further discussion of Quaker schools, see Betty Ring, "Samplers and Pictorial Needlework at the Chester County Historical Society," *Antiques* 126 (Dec. 1984): 1422-33.
39. For further information on the Lexington Female Academy, see William W. Pusey III, *Elusive Aspiration: The History of the Female Academy in Lexington, Virginia* (Lexington, Va., 1983).



- +0. For example, the following verse has been documented on a Hanover County sampler and a Nova Scotia sampler:

When snow descends, and robes the fields  
in winters bright array  
Touched by the sun the lustre fade  
And weeps itself away  
When Springs appears — when violets blow  
And shed a rich perfume  
How soon the fragrance breathes its last  
How short lived is the bloom.

- +1. Isaac Watts's *Divine Songs for Children* was offered for sale in the *Virginia Almanac* for the years 1744-65. Information courtesy of John Ingram.
- +2. Averil Colby, *Samplers* (London, 1964), 210.
- +3. Eliza Woodrow's small sampler of about 1808 is illustrated and discussed in Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett, "American Samplers and Needlework Pictures in the DAR Museum," *Antiques* 105 (Feb. 1974): 356-64.

*MESDA seeks manuscripts which treat virtually any facet of southern decorative art for publication in the JOURNAL. The MESDA staff would also like to examine any privately-held primary research material (documents and manuscripts) from the South, and southern newspapers published in 1820 and earlier.*

Some back issues of the *Journal*  
are available.

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